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ABSTRACT

This volume makes available to modern audiences the first of four major 20th-century reports dealing with adult education in England and Wales. It contains a facsimile reprint of the second, revised edition of the original 1908 document, with supporting essays by four well-known adult educators. The first two essays set the scene for the making of the report; the other two reflect on the report from the present day. An introduction (Sylvia Harrop) highlights both the issues involved in the making of the report, including the role of government, and the reasons why working-class men and women are largely absent from higher education 80 years later. "The Making of the Oxford Report" (Bernard Jennings) sees as the main issue behind the report the demand from working men for higher education. "The 1908 Report: Antidote to Class Struggle?" (Roger Fieldhouse) presents an opposing viewpoint and chronicles efforts by governments, judiciary, and employers to break socialist forces from the 1880s onwards. "The Report in Retrospect" (W. E. Styler) presents a perspective from personal experience. "The Cost and Value of Higher Education to Working-Class Women" (Jane Thompson) looks at the situation from the viewpoint of the almost overwhelming obstacles faced by working-class women trying to enter what is still a predominently male preserve. The text of the report follows. It addresses educational movements affecting workers, the Oxford University Extension Movement, the demand of workers for university education, and establishment of tutorial classes. (YLB)

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OXFORD AND WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION

New edition, edited by
Sylvia Harrop

with Introductory Essays
by

SYLVIA HARROP
BERNARD JENNINGS
ROGER FIELDHOUSE
W. E. STYLER
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While Sandy Lindsay from his lodge looks down
Dreaming of Adult Education where
The pottery chimneys flare
On lost potential firsts in some less favoured town.

John Betjeman: *Oxford Ode*, l.41.

(A. D. Lindsay (1879-1952): Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University 1935-38, first principal of the University College at Keele. Strong supporter of the Oxford tutorial classes committee, the WEA and university extension, and of the opening of Oxford to wider social classes.)

Introduction

Sylvia Harrop

Even to experienced adult educators, the 1908 Report *Oxford and Working-Class Education* is largely unknown. Yet it was the first of four major twentieth century reports dealing with adult education in England and Wales, being followed by the much better known *Final Report* of 1919, the 'Ashby Report' of 1954 and the 'Russell Report' of 1973. Unlike the other three, it was not commissioned by the government of the day, but followed a conference of working-class and educational organisations held at Oxford in the summer of 1907 under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA).

The objective of this new edition of the 1908 Report is to make available to the public a classic of adult education which has been out of print for decades. The Report was reprinted in 1951, but with no new introduction or comment. This volume, following a pattern set by the new edition of *The 1919 Report*,[1] contains a facsimile reprint of the second and revised edition of the 1908 volume, with supporting essays by four well-known adult educators. The first two essays set the scene for the making of the Report, with Bernard Jennings and Roger Fieldhouse giving the background from two opposing points of view. The other two reflect on the Report from the present day, with W. E. Styler presenting a perspective from personal experience and Jane Thompson looking at the situation from the viewpoint of the working-class woman.

The first question that might well be asked is 'Why *Oxford* and Working-Class Education?' – especially since it was Cambridge University that started the University Extension Movement and pioneered this work with the working classes. Bernard Jennings takes up this point towards the end of his essay. Earlier he shows how Albert Mansbridge built up links with a group of young Oxford men who had espoused the cause of University reform. There was, in fact, almost a 'holy alliance' between the WEA and Oxford, cemented after 1908 when Oxford men took leading positions in the Association.

The main issue behind first the conference and then the Report appeared to be the demand from working men for higher education. The rapid success of the WEA indicated clearly that there was such a demand, but opportunities were severely limited: almost the only higher education available was to be found in the few universities, restricted in their student membership to the middle and upper classes. The Report, therefore, set out to consider how Oxford could help to improve this situation to the mutual benefit of the workers and the University; providing for working men the education and culture many of them longed for and for the University both an acquaintance with working-class life and an opportunity to continue to train public officials (only this time trade union secretaries and Labour MPs) as it had done in the nineteenth century.[2]

Was the whole exercise, however, basically a heaven-sent opportunity to 'neutralise' a working class which was becoming politically powerful and in some areas increasingly socialist and even 'extreme'? Roger Fieldhouse's article chronicles the efforts by governments, judiciary and employers to break – or, at least, contain – socialist forces from the 1880s onwards. These forces were hardly likely to view offers from Oxford – the bastion of the privileged – with anything other than extreme suspicion and hostility. Any 'guidance' offered to them by Oxford (or any other university) in their new responsibilities could only involve control by that university;[3] and the education offered would be what was considered suitable by the institution rather than what the working men wanted for themselves. Such education was certainly in direct contrast to the ideas about the purpose of education held by such socialist groups as the Socialist League and the Scottish Labour Party.

Also diametrically opposed to these ideas were those of Albert Mansbridge and the leaders of the WEA, who viewed education as something spiritual, a means of individual enlightenment and self-fulfilment. They believed in academic impartiality and superiority – concepts which were anathema to groups for whom education that did not lead to political action, and eventually in a complete overthrow of the existing economy and society, was not only worthless, but traitorous to the cause. Thus it is that Fieldhouse presents Mansbridge as the great hope of Oxford and the Liberal government and his WEA as a sound political investment.

The Report is based on a belief in the great benefits to be gained by the whole of society as a result of making university education available to all sections of the community – and especially to the 'new classes' coming 'to power'.[4] For the workmen there would be both enjoyment in learning and an opportunity to exercise an influence for good in their own communities – leavening the whole lump, raising the whole class – but definitely within the existing social and economic structure. The whole was a triumph for the WEA philosophy of education as opposed to that of the supporters of 'independent working-class education'.

As Bernard Jennings shows, the reception of the Report varied, as might be expected. The Establishment, greatly worried by the results of the election in 1906, was relieved. The WEA was, of course, well pleased. Several leading figures in Oxford University were hostile. The left wing of the labour movement inevitably condemned it and warned of its dangers. In fact the Report came out in a second edition in 1909 and the writer of the Preface was obviously well pleased with its reception – so much so, that he expressed his confident hope that 'the work described in it may soon be regarded as part of the permanent educational machinery of the country'.[5] On the other hand, 1909 was also the year of the Ruskin Strike, which signified the total dissatisfaction and opposition of most of the Ruskin College students to the attempts by Oxford University to bring both the college and its curriculum more firmly under its control. Through the Plebs League, the Central Labour College and later the National Council of Labour Colleges the supporters of independent working-class education continued their implacable opposition to, and hatred of, the WEA.

From 1908 the WEA had compounded its errors in the eyes of its opponents by accepting financial support from the government. They regarded the taking up of such aid (offered by Morant at the Oxford Conference and essential to the success of the tutorial class system) as in effect going on to the government payroll and thus becoming its servant. The granting of aid was certainly a deliberate act on the part of the government and enabled the WEA to compete successfully with independent groups, which never attracted more than a small proportion of working men.

The key to the whole new scheme was the tutorial class, especially since the opening of the gates of a reformed Oxford to a growing number of working-class students was a dream for the future. The tutorial class – limited in student numbers and providing thorough and systematic teaching – had first been suggested by Canon Barnett in 1900;[6] government funding made it a possibility for many working men; and it rapidly became the star in the WEA's crown. The number of these classes grew rapidly and eleven years later, when *The 1919 Report* was produced, the tutorial class was given a favoured place. Indeed, in an introductory article to that report, Bernard Jennings has called it 'a hymn of praise to the achievements and ideas of the WEA/tutorial class movement'.[7] Others have pointed out that this obsession with the tutorial class took the writers of this report down a false path. Kelly, for example, considers that 'the radiance of the tutorial class' blinded them and thus caused them to lose their grasp of reality.[8]

What of the working men actually entering the University, rather than being taught outside its walls by university lecturers? It was always recognised that this could apply only to the very few. In theory, the 1902 Education Act made it possible for bright working-class boys to go to one of the new secondary schools on a scholarship and from there, perhaps, to university. In fact, very few even entered secondary schools because of financial and social restraints. It is indeed indicative, and significant, that the 1908 Committee did not consider the 1902 Act as having any effect for working men. Some did, however, succeed in entering Oxford and other universities, but they were few in number, scholarship holders from trade unions, co-operative societies or other supporting bodies and organisations. In 1928, for example, A. A. Eaglestone went up to Oxford to read history on a Miners' Welfare Scholarship, one of four such scholarship holders in the whole university. He later published a book (under the pseudonym Roger Dataller) giving a fascinating account of his experiences there.[9] At the end of his three years at Oxford he returned to Yorkshire bearing a 'profound affection' for the University, despite all its faults and 'grosser evils'. 'Wisdom', 'an unforgettable fellowship' and 'tranquillity' were not easily forgotten or given up.[10] Those who had warned earlier of the power of Oxford over the working man were correct: it was an all-pervasive power that, however great the University's abuses, could override them. Eaglestone was, however, clear that educational privilege was doomed and that 'the whole course of education' would become 'the monopoly of the State and absolutely free, with equality of opportunity for every one of its children'.[11] The contributors to this volume show that that day has yet to come. Eaglestone himself did not return to the mines, but became an adult tutor for the WEA and then, in the session 1948-49, one of the first Staff Tutors in the new Department of Extramural Studies at the University of Sheffield.[12] In this way he was serving his fellow workers by one of the means envisaged in the 1908 Report.[13]

Oxford certainly preserved itself intact from all but a very slight working-class presence, which was, of course, how many members of the

University wanted it. On the other hand, it was the only university that carried out the recommendation of the 1908 Report that universities were to be responsible for one half of class tutors' salaries and for their travelling expenses. Then, when Lloyd-George's government set up a Reconstruction Committee in 1917 to cover the whole area of social reform – including adult education among working men and women – it was Oxford and WEA men who dominated the active membership of the relevant sub-committee.[14] The Chairman of the committee was A. L. Smith, the Master of Balliol, who had been one of the Oxford representatives at the Oxford conference in 1907 and on the committee drafting the following report. Then there were R. H. Tawney, Mansbridge and E. S. Cartwright, joint secretary to the Committee with Arthur Greenwood from the Ministry concerned. Most of the work on the Report was done by Smith, Tawney, Greenwood and Cartwright – and these four, with other university and WEA members of the Committee, were well able to disarm criticisms and suspicions of university adult education held by trade unionist members.[15]

Looking back, many historians would echo Kelly's statement that 'naive idealism...governed all the committee's proposals'[16] – but in W. E. Styler's view, the Report was in fact echoing the 'new spirit of idealistic endeavour' of those years. Styler's career is an illuminating and instructive commentary on events from the Oxford Conference onwards – coming, as he did, from a working-class family, starting work at 14 and eventually discovering the pleasures of the tutorial class. Having been involved with such classes for nearly 50 years, first as a student, then a tutor and finally as a Professor of Adult Education, he believes firmly that they have been 'an outstandingly valuable instrument of adult education'. It is important also to note the other debt he acknowledges, to the public library system – echoing the comment in the 1908 Report that its educational possibilities 'cannot be over-emphasized'.[17] Styler's essay illustrates both the growing involvement of universities in adult education, especially since the Second World War, and the changing position of the WEA.

The tutorial class is now only a very small part of university adult education provision. There is, however, no doubt that it has an honourable place in the history of adult education, providing higher education for those who wanted it and could gain it no other way, Its modern replacement in some respects is the certificate or diploma course, which – very belatedly – is becoming a more and more common, and popular, offering of university adult education departments. The WEA has never favoured courses leading to a 'piece of paper', or qualification, because these are contrary to its long-held view that the objective of working-class education is to raise the whole class, not enable individuals to rise out of their class. This view, whereby the gifted working man is required to put his fellow-men before himself, dates back to the nineteenth century and is linked to the strong nonconformist base of many working-class organisations. Albert Mansbridge preached it and the 1908 Report made it clear that men who eventually reached Oxford, and studied there, would afterwards be expected to return to their previous way of life or take up some position (for example, in a trade union or as a tutorial class tutor) through which they could serve their fellow-workers.[18] Mactavish saw them, as Bernard Jennings describes, as 'missionaries...for the great task of lifting their class'. In other words, what was being offered was actually education for the labour movement, rather than education for the individual working man who, at the very least, must use his education in the service of his fellows. *The 1919 Report* reiterated the same theme[19] and this was one area in which the Oxford and WEA men and their Plebs opponents were agreed; though they disagreed, of course, on the objectives of the mission.

Many of the working men in question were more than happy to return to, and serve, their own class, as Eaglestone's career shows. There were, however, other powerful forces at work. First, education changes people; and secondly, there was the natural human desire to improve oneself and the opportunities for one's family. Many working-class students have, therefore, asked themselves why they should be denied the results of education enjoyed by the middle classes and through such education have moved up in society. Even more, perhaps, as Styler shows, have made sure that their children have enjoyed educational opportunities denied to themselves and have seen them achieve careers undreamed of for their parents and grandparents.

To gain a certificate or diploma, however, is not the same as reading for a degree and, in this respect, universities are still reluctant to open their doors to adult students. Part-time degrees are few on the ground and places for full-time mature students are limited, both by universities and by the harsh realities of life. Even when eligible for a grant, the sum of money is often too small even to cover everyday necessities and financial problems place a tremendous strain on the student. In its paper *A strategy for higher education into the 1990s*,[20] the University Grants Committee has recently stated that courses of higher education should be available for all those who are able to benefit from them and who wish to do so. The Committee even recognises that there are other ways of assessing fitness for university entrance apart from 'A' levels and that other qualities and experience can be important determinants of success. That this is so is borne out by a recent report on the

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performance of mature students in five northern universities. Its authors found that in terms of degree results the mature students who failed to satisfy normal entrance requirements were, if anything, more likely to get a good degree and less likely to drop out than undergraduates entering after 'A' levels. In the University of Liverpool, for example, 43 per cent of mature entrants gained first or upper second-class degrees compared with 28 per cent of students admitted with the normal 'A' level requirement.[21] For every one of these successful students there are thousands more who could emulate them, given the opportunity. Universities are really missing out by not encouraging the admission of such students, because the benefits to be gained, echoing the 1908 Report, are two-way. The major difference is that now the debate involves not the working class alone, but mature students from all classes since many middle (and upper) class adults have not had the opportunity of a university education.

In all this discussion of the 1908 Report and its ramifications women have scarcely been mentioned. This is because the Report was only really talking about men. There were no women represented on the 'seven a side' that produced the Report and in the entire volume they are mentioned only twice. The second mention is actually a quotation from another source on the objects of co-operative education; the first is of more import. It states:

> The Tutorial Classes are of course open to women upon the same terms as to men; there are several women students in the classes now at work. It is intended that the whole scheme shall benefit the education of working women as much as the education of working men.[22]

The same 'intention' applied to Ruskin College which was founded in 1899 to provide education for working men and, in theory at least, working women also.[23] But, as Jane Thompson shows, for intention to become reality would require a social, if not also an economic, revolution. In the immediate terms of the 1908 Report, the total support given to the University Tutorial Class as the vehicle for supplying higher education to working people meant the almost total exclusion of all but a few determined and fortunate women – mainly, in the event, school teachers. The many reasons for this were spelt out in 1922 in Paper No. 4 of the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education, entitled *The Development of Adult Education for Women*. These reasons led the Committee to conclude that there was 'a serious argument for increasing the number of advanced One-Year classes', which did not involve women in such a long commitment.[24] (It is relevant to note that this Committee of 26 included 24 men – including the old firm of Mansbridge, A. L. Smith and Tawney, plus Mactavish – and only two women, Lady Mabel Smith and Grace Hadow. The latter was peculiarly well qualified to serve. She took a First in English in Oxford in

1903 – though not, of course, able to receive a degree. She became a tutor to female students both in hall and at home and from 1916 was vice-chairman of the Women's Institutes.)[25]

The beneficiaries of the change to shorter classes were, of course, mainly middle-class women: the group which had also been the major beneficiaries of nineteenth century University Extension Work largely aimed at working men and which, by the inter-war period, was increasingly involved in the WEA. By then a growing number of middle-class girls were going to university, though, as Jane Thompson mentions, Oxford did not permit them to graduate as full members of the University until 1920. Cambridge held out even longer, until 1948.

These middle-class women were educationally disadvantaged compared with their male counterparts, but since the late nineteenth century they have gradually been making ground. Working-class women, however, have been hardly touched at all. It is, therefore, important to break the silence and disregard paid to this section of the community and look at the whole question of the education of and for working-class women.

Jane Thompson shows that historically these women have been regarded almost as 'non-persons' – within their own class as much as outside it – and that attitudes have not changed markedly today. In 1908 they could be ignored because they had no power to wield, either against Oxford and the Establishment, or for socialism. Their lot would have been no better had independent working-class education triumphed over the WEA, since the Labour College classes were much more male-dominated than either WEA or university extra-mural classes. Indeed, it has been stated that the independent movement's 'greatest failure [was] that men outnumbered women in a ratio of twenty to one'.[26] There was no salvation there. As for the picture since then, for working-class women there has been little expansion in educational opportunities in the last 80 years. Educational research shows this clearly. The chances of a working-class *boy* going to university in the 1960s were virtually no better than those of his parents 30 years earlier and the situation has improved very little since.[27] Only the most fortunate and determined working-class *girls*, therefore, gain entrance to higher education and working-class girls as a whole are still major underachievers.

What can be done? Jane Thompson stresses the importance of group action by women to attempt to change a system dominated by men and male ideas. Writing with first-hand experience of the women's education programme at Southampton University, she shows the appalling obstacles which working-class women are likely to have to overcome to undertake any kind of education. The reasons for this are clear and are very closely linked to economic and social conditions, which have the effect of increasing disadvantages to the already disadvantaged. In the end, however, it is the attitudes of those around them, and particularly male attitudes, which are perhaps the deciding factor. Cases quoted here show just how important it is to a woman's chances in education whether the men involved – at home, at work, or at the institution itself – actually support or oppose her attempts to educate herself. The depth of opposition and vindictiveness experienced by Southampton students is a study in itself. From the working-class male point of view, is education for women so undesirable – so dangerous? The evidence would suggest that it is and that many of these men regard education as a threat to their power and domination. Thus any woman who attempts, however unwittingly, to change this is in danger of opposition and attack. She and her fellows must ask themselves whether the prize is worth the battle and whether education will do for them what they desire. Jane Thompson is sceptical on this point.

Official reports, with a few notable exceptions, do not make the best-seller lists; and those dealing with adult education are among those most quickly shelved. Nevertheless, as the first of such reports, the 1908 must stand, to quote Bernard Jennings, as 'one of the great documents of liberal education.' It may, however, be more significant than this.

The fears of some in 1908-09 that Oxford (and other universities) would be adversely and permanently damaged by an influx of working men has never materialised, even after nearly 80 years of educational, social and economic advancement. Most universities are still reluctant to open their doors to adult students. The national education system still discriminates against working-class students, the majority of whom fail to climb up the educational ladder provided. The needs and expectations of working-class women are at the bottom of the pile. More than this, however, the universities might be surprised to find that their wares hold little or no attraction to the vast majority of the population, who are either indifferent or actively hostile to their 'privileges'. In his famous speech to the 1907 Oxford Conference Mactavish stated that Oxford needed the working class more than they needed Oxford. History appears to show that this was not so, since Oxford, and other universities, seem to have got along very well on their limited social and age base. It could well be, however, that the universities' failure – especially since the Second World War – to broaden this base and take in and welcome adult students, is one major reason for their lack of public support and subsequent treatment at the hands of government. Could it be that the chickens are coming home to roost?

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The Making of The Oxford Report

Bernard Jennings

'Labour has 'arrived' ', wrote J. A. R. Marriott in the *Fortnightly Review* in December 1906. Future historians would say 'that in that year a new force manifested itself for the first time in English politics'.[1] The general election of January 1906 had resulted in an overwhelming Liberal victory, but Marriott's attention was focused on the fifty-three representatives of Labour elected to the House of Commons. These MPs were in general men of monumental moderation, but their arrival induced feelings approaching panic amongst some of the wealthier classes. 'The West End thinks its hour has come', commented Canon Barnett in a letter to his brother.[2]

Marriott declared that the 1906 election signalled the transfer of a 'preponderating share of political control' to the common people, who would now be responsible for ruling 'not merely a great kingdom, but a world-wide Empire...'. He was repeating arguments he had used in speeches to meetings of the Workers' Educational Association during the previous two years, in which he recalled warnings uttered since the 1860s about the dangers of teaching 'our democracy to read unless we also teach it to think'. Fortunately 'a new spirit [was] stirring among the working class in regard to higher education', manifested by the 'remarkable success' of the WEA.[3]

Marriott was the secretary of the Oxford Extension Delegacy which, together with the Local Lectures Syndicate at Cambridge, serviced a national network of extension lecture centres. The Universities provided only the central administration and the costs of the courses – about £70 for 12 lectures – had to be met locally. To attract the large audience that was needed for financial reasons, and at the same time help the earnest student, an ingenious pyramid of learning was constructed. A formal lecture was followed by an optional discussion class, the members of which could, if they wished, submit essays for correction and take an examination at the end of the course. The average numbers at these four stages in the 1890s were roughly 100 – 30 – 15 – 10. Summer schools at Oxford or Cambridge offered further opportunities for study.

Between 50,000 and 60,000 people were attending extension courses in the early 1890s. The most popular subjects were history, literature and science. Middle-class women predominated and workers were few except where there was a local working-class organisation, e.g. a co-operative society, willing to sponsor and subsidise the work. Finance was only one problem. It was found that class alienation could be overcome only if local control was in working-class hands.

The leaders of the extension movement, which aimed at 'the breaking down of intellectual caste and the universal extension of the intellectual franchise', were disappointed at the limited working-class response and also frustrated by the need to provide short lecture courses, with regular changes of subject, in order to attract enough people to balance the books. The government had in 1889 begun to grant-aid the university colleges, but refused to provide support for extension lectures.[4]

Albert Mansbridge founded the WEA in 1903, as a federation of working-class organisations concerned with adult education, with the principal aim of promoting 'the higher education of working men primarily by the extension of university teaching'. Its pioneer branches supported, and in some cases promoted, extension lecture courses, but came up against the familiar limitations of the extension system.[5] By 1905 Mansbridge was arguing that the WEA would 'have failed unless intensive class teaching up to university standard is developed'.[6]

In the pursuit of this objective, Mansbridge formed an alliance with a group of young Oxford academics, with the support and advice of two elder statesmen who were also Oxford men, Charles Gore, Bishop of Birmingham, and Canon Samuel Barnett, Warden of Toynbee Hall, a university settlement in East London. They wanted to make the extension system more responsive to working-class needs and to promote a thoroughgoing reform of the University of Oxford which would simultaneously raise academic standards and democratise its entry.

A public debate on university reform was opened by eight articles on 'The University and the Nation' which appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* in February and March 1906 under the pen name 'Lambda'. Later in the same year similar ideas were ventilated by a young classics don from New College, Alfred Zimmern, in an article in the *Independent Review* entitled 'Oxford in the New Century'. In April and May 1907 'some Oxford Tutors' (a group of fellows and tutors from eight Oxford Colleges) contributed a series of articles in the *Times*. The reformers' case was put before parliament by Bishop Gore, who opened a debate in the House of Lords on 24 July 1907.[7]

These initiatives were all carefully coordinated. 'Lambda' was R. H. Tawney (Rugby, Balliol College 1899-1903, worked after graduation at

Toynbee Hall). The 'Oxford tutors' included William Temple (Rugby, Balliol 1900-4, fellow of Queen's College), Zimmern (Winchester, New College 1898-1902, fellow and tutor of New College), Richard Livingstone (Winchester, New College 1899-1903, fellow and tutor of Corpus Christi) and John L. Myers (Winchester, New College 1888-92, student, i.e. staff member, of Christ Church).[8] Some at least of the group described themselves as 'conspirators' and adopted the name Catiline Club. In 1905 both Tawney and Temple joined the WEA. Tawney was quickly elected to the national executive committee and in 1906 conducted an extension course for the Ilford WEA branch. Temple became the first President of the Association in 1908 and Zimmern later served as Treasurer.[9]

Behind the activities of Tawney and his friends can be discerned the guiding influence of Canon Barnett, who had been a warm supporter of the WEA since its foundation and was a member of its Advisory Council. In an article in the *University Review*, in May 1905, he argued that

> Oxford and Cambridge need what workmen can give and workmen have no less need of the Universities...The Universities have the knowledge of human things...They have followed the struggles of humanity towards its ideals ...Workmen have the strength of character which comes of daily contact with necessity, the discipline of labour...If they had their share of the knowledge stored in the National Universities they would know better at what to aim, what to do and how to do it. They, as it is, are often blind and unreasoning...If these National Universities...were in touch with the industrial classes, they would adapt their teaching to the needs and understandings of men, struggling to secure their position in a changing industrial system and better acquainted with facts than with theories about facts.[10]

According to Tawney, his articles in the *Westminster Gazette* were 'inspired' by Barnett. It was certainly no coincidence that the editor of the *Gazette* was a close friend of the canon.[11] 'Lambda' demanded that academic standards at Oxford should be raised by having an entrance examination which was a proper test of aptitude and by the development of research; that the University should be strengthened by the diversion of some of the wealth of the colleges; and that the scholarship system should be reformed and living costs lowered to open Oxford to a wider social range. It would be necessary, however, 'to devise some expedient which will not end in making schoolmasters out of workmen, clergymen out of schoolmasters and in sending as grist to the Civil Service mill men whose talents are needed elsewhere'. Artisans and elementary school teachers should not be 'lost to the class from which they spring'.

It was necessary

> in a democratic State that as many men as is possible should possess some knowledge of the corporate life of humanity which is expressed in literature,

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> philosophy and history. Such knowledge it has always been the work of Oxford to impart...Oxford has aimed primarily at the making of citizens...

Oxford had been the foster-mother to the class which had been dominant in politics, education and business,

> training them in suppleness and moderation of intellect, in respect for the complexities of human affairs and in the ambition to offer a reasonable service to Church and State.

The spread of this teaching to new responsible groups would be no revolutionary departure.

In his final article Tawney proposed the setting up of a royal commission to impose reforms in three areas: the system of government of the University, college revenues and scholarships.[12]

Zimmern's article in the *Independent Review* reinforced Tawney's arguments. 'It is not easy to exaggerate the mischief we have done to English life by allowing the Universities to be regarded as finishing schools for the well-to-do.' The articles in *The Times* by the 'Oxford Tutors' were particularly severe on 'the idle pass men', who should be forced to make way for poorer but more deserving students, assisted by the provision of means-tested exhibitions.

The next move was made by Bishop Gore, who was both a close friend of Barnett and a father figure to Mansbridge and the WEA. He asked the government, in the course of a debate in the House of Lords, to consider the establishment of a royal commission to inquire into the endowment, administration and teaching of Oxford and Cambridge, 'in order to secure the best use of their resources for the benefit of all classes of the community'. 'It had always been,' he argued, 'the honour and the pride of the old Universities that they had trained the governing classes of the country', but they must realise that the term 'governing classes...includes now the working classes'. After the now familiar criticisms of the idle pass men and the misuse of endowments and scholarships, Gore declared

> The Workers' Educational Association and the Ruskin College at Oxford are signs and evidences that among the working classes there is a very considerable body of people who desire to be students and are capable of being students. What we want is that the Universities should be so reorganised and that their endowments should be so used as that whatever there is of real intellectual aspiration and real desire for knowledge, should find its home and instruction in Oxford and Cambridge; and that, and nothing else, should be the real object which the Universities manifestly exist to serve.[13].

The government decided to defer action on a royal commission to give the ancient universities the opportunity to consider what reforms were needed and whether they could be achieved without legislation. The public discussions started by the Oxford reformers had, however, to quote

Zimmern, turned university reform from 'a subject for academic debate' into 'one of the most urgent questions of national policy.'[14] They had, in particular, paved the way for Mansbridge's campaign for the creation of a system of tutorial classes which would both satisfy the workers' appetite for sustained study in their home towns and open the door, for some of them at least, to university residence.

To spearhead the campaign, Mansbridge chose the members of the Rochdale Education Guild (as the local WEA branch was called), whose experience in the Lent Term of 1907 provided a dramatic demonstration of the limitations of the extension system. After running three six-lecture courses on literary subjects with average attendances of about 550, the Guild organised a course, taken by a popular Oxford lecturer, on Political and Social Problems. The enrolment was 'only' about 250, which caused the Guild, which charged low fees, a serious financial loss. Ninety per cent of the audience were said to be working people and about 200 of them stayed behind after the lecture for the discussion class. As T. W. Price explained, 'it was obvious to everyone that free, unrestricted discussion of economic subjects in a gathering of 200 persons, most of whom wished to speak, was an impossible proposition...'[15]

In response to an appeal from Rochdale, the WEA Central Executive Committee promised, in Mansbridge's words, 'that if thirty working men and women would pledge themselves to study for two years, the Association would do what it could to secure the best possible tutor for the subject desired.' The Rochdale Education Guild soon found over forty recruits, who chose English social and economic history. Tawney was appointed as tutor. In August 1907 Mansbridge led a delegation of Rochdale WEA students who were attending the Oxford Summer Meeting to meet Dr. T. B. Strong, Dean of Christ Church, who was chairman of the Oxford Extension Delegacy. The Dean was impressed by the fervour of the Rochdale men. When he raised the problem of finance, they told him that if he realised how hungry they were for knowledge, he would melt down the college plate to raise the money. Dr. Strong preserved the plate, but promised active support. It was, however, Zimmern's college, New, which made a grant of £300 to allow experimental tutorial classes to proceed.[16]

The broader questions of what Oxford and workpeople could do for each other were made the subject of a conference held on Saturday 19 August, during the same Summer Meeting. Gore took the chair. 430 delegates from 210 organisations, most of them working-class and including many trades councils and trade union branches, attended. Sympathetic letters were received from Lord Curzon, the Chancellor, and Dr. Herbert Warren, the

Vice-Chancellor of the University, both of whom were away from Oxford at the time of the conference. Warren wrote that he had very much in mind the question

> of how to make University teaching accessible in the most helpful form to working-men, either by taking it as far as it can be taken to them in their own places of abode, or by bringing those who can come for shorter or longer periods to Oxford.

Curzon told Mansbridge,

> I feel very great sympathy with your work...I cannot imagine any endeavour of higher national importance than one to establish natural and living connections between the University of Oxford and the working classes.[17]

Marriott, in welcoming the delegates, spoke of the 'extraordinary progress' made in the four years of its existence by the WEA, which was the result of 'the enthusiasm, selfless devotion and organising skill of their General Secretary'. The university extension movement looked with pride on the achievements of its 'direct and legitimate offspring'. He hoped that further progress could be made towards making the universities national institutions, 'not by the exclusion of the rich but by the inclusion of the poor'.[18]

Two papers were read, by Walter Nield of Oldham, president of the North Western Co-operative Education Committees' Association, on 'What Workpeople want Oxford to do'; and by Sidney Ball, fellow of St. John's College, on 'What Oxford can do for Workpeople'. Tawney, who was not present at the conference, had a hand in the drafting of both papers.[19] Nield advocated the admission to Oxford of selected working-class students for periods of one or two years, to read for a diploma and then 'return as a matter of course to give the benefit of their experience to their fellows'. A 'union of labour and learning' in Oxford would also benefit the University, which needed 'a real living acquaintance with working-class conditions'.

Ball quoted James Stuart, Arnold Toynbee, J. R. Seeley, Mark Pattison and T. H. Green (whose widow was present at the conference) to demonstrate that the 'ideal [that] a National University...should be co-extensive with the nation' had often been put forward, but was not yet realised. He argued that educational and social reform must go hand-in-hand and went on to develop the familiar theme that the 'governing classes' traditionally educated by Oxford now included representatives of the workers.

> Changes in the structure of English society are throwing more and more responsibility on the shoulders of men who have had no opportunity of obtaining the 'synoptic mind' which, as Plato reminds successive generations

> of Oxford students, is desirable in 'governors'...If working men, as Co-operators or Trade Unionists, as Local Councillors or Members of Parliament ...are to exercise rightly the unparalleled political power of which they have become possessed...they must, as the wisest amongst them recognise, obtain a social and political education such as no other institution than a University is in a position to offer.

The conference did not develop, after the papers and opening speeches, as Mansbridge and his associates had intended. It was evident to Price that 'many of the delegates shared in the widespread working-class distrust of Universities...It seemed as though the conference would fail of its purpose because of the impossibility of making contact between the two sections',[20] when J. M. Mactavish, a Portsmouth shipwright and Labour councillor, rose to his feet to declare, 'I am not here as a suppliant for my class...I claim for my class all the best that Oxford has to give. I claim it as a right, wrongfully withheld...'. Oxford needed workpeople more than they needed Oxford, because democracy would be achieved with or without its help. 'What is the true function of a University? Is it to train the nation's best men, or to sell its gifts to the rich?' Workpeople should go to Oxford to be trained not for self-advancement, but 'as missionaries...for the great task of lifting their class. For this purpose they needed a new interpretation of history – 'although we are supposed to have no recorded history, without us all history was and is impossible' – and economics – 'You cannot expect the people to enthuse over a science which promises them no more than a life of precarious toil.' They also needed teachers sympathetic to the aspirations of the workers, not the typical extension lecturer who was 'decidedly middle and upper class in his outlook'.

Canon Barnett, who also spoke at the conference, may have recognised this speech as a working-class version of his arguments in the *University Review* two years earlier, but with the University, not the workers, depicted as 'blind and unreasoning'. Mactavish ended with the call, 'To Oxford I say: Open wide your doors and take us in; we need you; you need us.'

'At once', wrote Price, 'the spirit of the Conference was changed; the coldness and restlessness vanished as though by magic.' In Mansbridge's view 'no one but the speaker could perhaps approve every point in the speech' and Hudson Shaw, the veteran Oxford extension lecturer, 'protested against any suggestion that Oxford should 'tune her pulpits' to suit any class'. However, Mansbridge was well satisfied with the results of his invitation to Mactavish to attend and speak at the conference. 'The day was won. Oxford and working people were swung together into line.'[21]

Mansbridge and Price exaggerated the importance of the mood of the conference. There was no serious danger that the prepared resolutions would not be approved. The most important speech had much less impact on the delegates than Mactavish's stirring rhetoric. It was made by Sir Robert Morant, Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, who declared that the Board was 'looking for guidance from such an Association as is represented here today to show us the way in which adult education can best be furthered. In particular we believe it is to small classes and solid, earnest work that we can give increasingly of the golden stream.' This offer of grant aid, without which the tutorial class movement could not have made much progress, did not come out of the blue. Mansbridge had been in close touch with Morant, who was not only influenced by the former's enthusiasm and personal magnetism, but also felt that support for the WEA would be a sound political investment. Mansbridge's adulation of university men and university values was reassuring, and Morant had recently brought both Mansbridge and David Shackleton (a moderate Labour MP and a keen supporter of the WEA) on to the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education as a deliberate move to rebut charges that the Committee and the Board were hostile to working-class aspirations. One interesting by-product of the negotiations with the Board was an extension of the pioneer tutorial classes from two years to three (which would probably have happened later in any case) because only classes of that length could be adequately supported under the existing regulations.[22]

The conference was well reported in the serious newspapers and the 'great Oxford debate' continued in the periodicals. Marriott defended the extension system which embraced 'the tutorial class, the carefully selected library, the written essay, the testing examination' as well as the lecture. 'Provided with adequate resources, the Extension system could adapt itself tomorrow' to the demand for sustained teaching in small classes. 'It is entirely a question of finance'.[23] (The term 'tutorial class' was currently used with a variety of meanings, including London extension courses lasting for at least two terms with lecture and class integrated. These usages should not be confused with the three-year joint committee tutorial class).

The joint committee set up under the terms of the conference resolution consisted of seven members nominated by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and seven by the Central Executive Committee of the WEA. Both selections came under attack, from right and left respectively, as being unrepresentative. The WEA had an answer to the charge. It had asked for nominations for four places, two from the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC (Shackleton and C. W. Bowerman, another trade unionist and moderate Labour MP), one from the Co-operative Union (W. H. Berry) and one from the National Conference of Friendly Societies (Richardson Campbell).

Mansbridge suggested the name of Berry, already a member of the WEA executive, to the Co-operative Union, but there is no record of a similar approach to the other two bodies. The remaining three places were to be filled by Mansbridge, Mactavish and Philip Snowden, another Labour MP. Snowden was a prominent figure at early WEA gatherings (including the Oxford conference) usually making gloomy speeches about the limited possibilities of voluntary action and the 'ignorance and indifference of workpeople'. He must have declined to serve, as his place was taken by the reserve, Alfred Wilkinson, a Labour councillor from Rochdale.[24]

The accusation that the university panel was unrepresentative had rather more substance to it. Its members were Dr. T. B. Strong, Dean of Christ Church and chairman of the Extension Delegacy, J. A. R. Marriott, secretary to the Delegacy, Professor H. H. Turner (New College), A. L. Smith (Balliol), Sydney Ball (St. John's), Alfred Zimmern (New) and H. B. Lees Smith, Vice-Principal of Ruskin College and later a Professor at University College, Bristol. A. L. Smith, Ball and Zimmern were all committed supporters of the WEA and of university reform and Lees Smith was a member of the WEA executive. Critics pointed out that the Vice-Chancellor had appointed these seven men without consulting the Congregation or Convocation and that Lees Smith was not in a position to represent the University. One of them commented that if the University had wanted officially 'to negotiate with the working-men organisations' it would probably have chosen 'gentlemen less prejudiced in favour of socialism than Mr. Sydney Ball and Mr. A. E. Zimmern and of more experience than the latter' to represent it.[25]

Most of the discussion in the committee did not, in the event, take the form of 'negotiations' between the two sides. Dr. Strong was elected chairman, with David Shackleton as vice-chairman. The joint secretaries, Zimmern and Mansbridge, worked very closely together and Zimmern attended some of the meetings of the WEA group. The whole committee was in favour of the principle of providing tutorial classes and sending some students from them to Oxford. Most differences of view were settled by an amicable compromise. For example, the labour members were reluctant to agree to an end-of-course examination without which, argued Marriott, admission to Oxford would not be possible. At the suggestion of Turner and A. L. Smith, it was agreed to accept the assessment of essays instead.[26] The real issue was who would control the administration of tutorial classes and the admission of working-class students to Oxford.

Here Mansbridge and his allies set out deliberately to isolate Marriott, who as secretary to the Delegacy might have been expected to have some kind of managerial involvement in the proposed joint committee/tutorial class system, and to manoeuvre him to a position of impotence. Marriott had been a keen supporter of the WEA since its foundation, in word and deed, and had shown many kindnesses to Mansbridge. He was, however, a prominent Tory and as he wrote many years later,

> it was perhaps not unnatural that some working-class students, themselves tending towards Socialism, should come to regard me with suspicion as an obscurantist and reactionary. Our University Extension methods were not 'democratic' enough for them; they would fain, if not tune the pulpits, at least choose the preachers;... above all, they revolted against what it became fashionable to describe as 'middle-class economics'.[27]

Mactavish was afraid that Marriott might take advantage of the proposed new system to send 'the wrong characters' from extension centres to Oxford. Mansbridge wrote reassuringly,

> we do not fear him at all. He will not be allowed to even put his little finger in the new arrangements...We will not let any man go up [to Oxford] unless he has passed the most complete system of selection that has ever been devised, and we will in the WEA hedge it about with rules that cannot be broken.[28]

The arrangements for Tawney's tutorial class at Rochdale had been made before the joint committee met and a second request had been received from a strong Oxford extension centre at Longton in North Staffordshire. It was agreed that Tawney would take both classes and they began in January 1908. Zimmern reported to the joint committee on the first term at Rochdale, describing Tawney's presentation as 'masterly' and commenting that 'in two years' time several of the students will be more than fit for admission to a University course.'[29] It should be pointed out, however, that both classes contained students with several years' experience of serious study in the extension system and were untypical of the early tutorial classes in their social composition, having a relatively high proportion of white-collar workers.[30]

To allow some new classes to be started without waiting for the full report of the committee, an interim report was produced in May 1908. It recommended the appointment of a standing joint committee of university and labour representatives to deal with both tutorial classes and other extension work in working-class centres. The local management of classes should be in the hands of representative committees of working-class organisations. Oxford should employ full-time tutors, who should have a recognised status in the university and some internal teaching, at a salary of £80 per class, therefore £400 for what was regarded as a full programme. Half of the cost should be met by Oxford and half by WEA branches or other local centres. An important aspect of the latter arrangement was that grants from the Board of Education, the LEAs and bodies such as the Gilchrist Trust were to be credited to the WEA side of the partnership. It was recognised that the contributions from students could only be slight. There was thought to be enough work for six tutors in the near future and the committee hoped that six colleges would each support one of them.[31]

In the autumn of 1908, six new tutorial classes were started, at Littleborough, Chesterfield and Wrexham (all taken by Tawney, making him the first full-time tutorial class tutor), Glossop, Oldham and Swindon. All were in Industrial History except for Swindon which chose Economics.[32]

The report of the committee, *Oxford and Working-Class Education*, was published on 28 November 1908. The final drafting was entrusted to Dr. Strong, who, wrote Zimmern, was 'sure to phrase it rightly for Oxford reading'. Mactavish was more cautious on this point: 'I hope the Dean's patch will not spoil the original.'[33] Its main theme is contained in the following passage, which echoes the arguments of Barnett, Gore and Ball quoted above,

> It has always been the privilege of the older Universities (though, of course, not to the exclusion of the new) to train men for all departments of political life and public administration. Throughout the nineteenth century a considerable proportion of those who, as ministers or members of Parliament, or public officials, wielded great influence, have received their earliest education in political ideas at the hands of Oxford and have acknowledged freely that they have learned through it to be more efficient servants of the community. The Trade Union secretary and the "Labour member" need an Oxford education as much and will use it to as good ends, as the civil servant or the barrister. It seems to us that it would involve a grave loss both to Oxford and to English political life were the close association which has existed between the university and the world of affairs to be broken or impaired on the accession of new classes to power.[34]

'The Report is ready at last', an anonymous writer commented in the December 1908 number of the WEA journal *The Highway*. 'We wondered what kind of a changeling would emerge from a Committee room, where the Dean of Christ Church sat at one end of the table and Mr. Shackleton at the other.' He need not have worried. Indeed, if the writer was Mansbridge himself – and the style fits – he was never worried. The report gave the WEA all it asked for, including the right of a WEA branch, or 'representative body of workmen' to have 'a controlling voice in the selection of a teacher' for a tutorial class. 'The selection of curricula...must be the duty of the University acting in co-operation with workpeople'. Local control by the workers themselves would allay suspicion about 'unconscious class bias' in the teaching and would guarantee that students secured the kind of education they wanted and not what the university thought they ought to want. Furthermore, because many of the worker-students would be members of several other working-class societies created by 'the genius of English workmen for organisation', the influence of a class would filter 'through a hundred different channels and may leaven a whole town'.

The proposals in the interim report on the conditions of employment of tutors were endorsed and the importance of their undertaking 'regular teaching in Oxford itself' was emphasised. This would bring knowledge of working-class thought and conditions into the university. At the same time, 'the critical atmosphere of Oxford' would save the tutor 'to a considerable extent from dropping into slipshod and unacademic habits of thought and expression' and consequently 'losing the scholar in the lecturer.' The 'main object' of the tutorial classes would be 'to prepare men for study in the University itself', mainly for the Diploma in Economics or the proposed Diploma in Political Science. It was recommended that the selection of tutorial class students to come up to Oxford should be in the hands of a committee consisting of two representatives of the university, the class tutor and representatives of the WEA, 'the local organisation' (normally the WEA branch) and the class.[35]

On 27 October 1908, a month before the report appeared, a permanent joint committee was established, with equal university and WEA representation. It was to all intents and purposes independent of the Extension Delegacy, with its own officers and funds. It had orginally been understood that the Secretary to the Delegacy would have 'a general supervision' of tutorial classes, but the WEA representatives had persuaded Dr. Strong that there would be too much work for Marriott to be able to give it adequate attention. They even conveyed the impression that they had made a concession by agreeing to the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee being a standing committee of the Delegacy instead of an entirely separate body.[36]

Mansbridge wrote to the labour members of the committee on 2 November that 'all is now in order at Oxford'. The powers given to the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee 'for a start appear to be eminently satisfactory'. He told the WEA Central Executive Committee on 2 December that 'he had taken it upon himself' to nominate the seven WEA members of the temporary joint committee to serve on the new body. The committee confirmed his action. The university nominated Strong, Ball, A. L. Smith and Turner, together with Professor Michael Sadler; Langford Price, fellow and tutor of Oriel College and an active supporter of both extension work and Co-operative education; and William Temple (Zimmern was planning to leave Oxford). Temple and Mansbridge became joint secretaries.[37]

The one member of the 1907-08 joint committee who regarded the outcome as far from being 'eminently satisfactory' was Marriott. He had been incensed by the attacks on Oxford's extension work which appeared in the first draft of the report. He complained to Dr. Strong, 'It is altogether 'superior', supercilious and patronising in tone...it contains a repetition of many calumnies fully refuted by Sadler many years ago.' Marriott persuaded the committee to tone down some of this criticism. For example, the sentence

> Hitherto, in spite of the admirable efforts made by individual lecturers, University Extension work has been far too desultory and incoherent.

was replaced by

> Hitherto, in spite of efforts to the contrary, University Extension work has been far too discontinuous.

Later in the same paragraph, a discussion of the need for new financial arrangements so that centres would not have to make frequent changes of subject to attract large audiences ended with the words 'will in part obviate these defects', instead of the original expression 'will make any such mind-destroying versatility unnecessary'.

These changes went some way towards meeting Marriott's objections, but he still resented the 'grudging and inadequate recognition of what has already been done by the University of Oxford for working-class education'. He wrote several drafts of a note of dissent to add to the Report, pointing out that he had himself been advocating many of its educational recommendations for many years, but expressing serious reservations about the organisational changes. In one draft, he argued that the latter should have been referred to a university committee or a royal commission. In the end he contented himself with a footnote to the report. 'Mr. Marriott cordially concurs in the educational recommendations of the above Report, but expresses no opinion on the administrative changes suggested in it'.[38]

It is not clear whether Marriott was sacrificed to appease the aggressive class-consciousness of Mactavish, and anyone else on the labour side who shared the latter's view, or whether Marriott was being hopelessly obstructive. It is, however, of some significance that Mansbridge's letter to Mactavish promising that Marriott would be frozen out was written only a few days after the first meeting of the committee. His treatment of Marriott showed that Mansbridge was not the simple-minded evangelist depicted in his own writings, but a skilful manipulator with a subtle mind and a ruthless streak.

The report had said nothing about the 'idle pass-men' who had been frequently attacked earlier in the reform campaign. Gore and Mansbridge made it clear, however, that in their view the exclusion of the idle rich and the admission of the industrious poor were closely, if not inseparably connected. Gore told a WEA rally at Toynbee Hall, just before the publication of the report, that he hoped for 'a great displacement of rich or well-to-do young men, who wanted to have a good time, by serious students, who would come equally from all classes but in large measure from among the workers'.[39] Mansbridge wrote a few months later, 'A great national highway of education is necessary...' Intelligent workers should not be left out because of their poverty, nor the 'idle...impotent rich' admitted because of their money.[40]

According to the preface to the second edition of *Oxford and Working-Class Education*, dated August 1909,

> the reception of the Report by almost every section of English opinion has been so satisfactory that we feel justified in hoping that work of the character described in it may soon be regarded as part of the permanent educational machinery of the country.

It is true that there were many favourable comments in newspapers and periodicals, some of them being apparently written or inspired by Mansbridge's allies. For example, the laudatory article in the Liberal weekly *The Nation* appears from internal evidence to have been written by either Tawney or Zimmern.[41] There was, however, some hostile criticism from defenders of the established order. The President of Corpus Christi objected to funds being spent 'on non-members and largely at the expense of undergraduates and their tutors who, on the faith that they will be fairly and properly treated, have joined the colleges'.[42] R. S. Rait, the Dean of New College, argued that the character of Oxford would be destroyed if college expenses were curtailed sufficiently to allow for the admission of artisans. The latter should be catered for by institutions in the industrial towns.[43] Another critic saw the proposals of the report as 'destructive of progress in knowledge' because the workers wanted 'an education specifically adjusted to their needs...conducted by teachers whom they have themselves selected for their willingness to teach what is wanted'.[44]

In an article in *The Nineteenth Century* J. B. Rye argued that the statute setting up the standing joint committee would not have been approved by Convocation without opposition if it had been presented after the publication of the report. Social differences would prevent working-class students benefiting from Oxford life. 'A mechanic in Magdalen or Christ Church would feel as out of the place as he would at a dining table in the Carlton Hotel'. He attacked the idea of working-class control of tutorial classes. 'Some of the topics to be studied are distinctly dangerous. For instance, "The Carbonari" and "Bakounin and the Anarchist Parties" are scarcely edifying subjects to be taught to workmen!'[45]

The Oxford Report was also assailed from the left, in the columns of *Clarion*, *Justice*, and *The New Age*. One of the milder criticisms was made by Ramsay Macdonald in *The Labour Leader*. The WEA, he warned, was in danger of letting Oxford views and social prejudice 'inoculate the more intelligent sections of the working classes'. He wrote to Mansbridge saying that he was in favour of tutorial class work, but not of sending workers to Oxford. 'Oxford is a poison...You cannot recreate Oxford by an infusion of working men...Oxford will assimilate them, not they Oxford'.[46] Similar doubts were expressed right across the political spectrum. The *Morning Post* commented, 'The atmosphere of Oxford transforms everything it touches'. Working-class students would inevitably become alienated from their background. A writer in *The Socialist Review* feared that the same students would be infected by 'the bacillus of the indolent, frivolous and selfish life'.[47]

In the summer of 1909 the Chancellor of Oxford University, Lord Curzon, produced his own report, over 200 pages long, on University reform. He welcomed the 'singularly able and attractive report' of the Oxford Committee and emphasised the mutual benefits to the Labour movement of having MPs with a university education and to the universities of having their role and problems understood by the 'spokesmen of the industrial classes' in and out of parliament. He proposed the establishment of a 'University Working-Men's College', to accommodate students reading for diplomas which could either be taken in their own right or be 'a half-way house to a degree'. Mansbridge attacked Curzon's ideas in *The Nation*, asserting the 'indefeasible right' of worker-students to use existing colleges. Curzon's proposals were rejected by the University's governing body, the Hebdomedal Council.[48]

The potential role of Ruskin College (founded in 1899 as Ruskin Hall), which was located in Oxford but not part of the University, was explored both in the 1907-08 joint committee and through informal exchanges. Five members of the committee were also on the council of Ruskin College. Before it began work another member, A. L. Smith, visited Ruskin to test the students' reaction to some kind of loose affiliation with the University. Other visitors included Curzon and the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Warren. Militant socialists within the student body viewed with concern what they saw as 'the University's take-over bid for adult working-class education' and the resultant tension led to a student revolt and the formation of a rival Central Labour College. The *Oxford Report* recommended that students who had satisfactorily completed a year's course at Ruskin should be enabled to study for the University Diplomas in Economics or Political Science, either at Ruskin or elsewhere.[49]

The great debate described above was concerned almost exclusively with the role of Oxford. Were there not other universities, including one at Cambridge? There are two explanations. In the first place, the intellectual and religious movements which fed the zeal of the reformers – notably the ideas and work of T. H. Green and Benjamin Jowett and the activities of the *Lux Mundi* group and the Christian Social Union – developed in, or in close association with, Oxford. Secondly, Cambridge pleaded not guilty to the charges laid against Oxford by its own radical sons. The *Cambridge Review* asserted, 'We have strained our resources to the utmost in opening new schools and new triposes, several colleges have made special efforts to attract the poorer class of men by reducing expenses to a minimum, we have lavished money on scientific apparatus, museums, workshops and the like and at present we are reaping our reward'. Cambridge was well content with the standards of its extension work, which was based on courses of twelve lectures, twice as long as the standard Oxford provision. New successes had recently been achieved in a few working-class centres. While, therefore, some Oxford men were beating their breasts, pious voices were heard in Cambridge giving thanks that they were not as the rest of men.[50]

The only other base from which it might have been possible to launch the tutorial class movement was London. However, at the time the WEA in the capital was still relatively weak and Dr. R. D. Roberts, Registrar of the University of London Extension Board, had little enthusiasm for the WEA and none for the joint committee/tutorial class idea. He had, at Cambridge and London, done more for working-class adult education than any other extension administrator and was reluctant in his later years to accept the need for a radically new approach. He expected Mansbridge and the WEA to serve the extension movement, not to transform it.[51]

It was therefore the *Oxford Report* which laid the foundations for the development of joint committees and tutorial classes all over the country and which stands as one of the great documents of liberal adult education. The report and the successful launching of the pioneer tutorial classes were collective achievements. Barnett, Gore, Tawney, Zimmern, Temple, A. L. Smith, Ball and Morant made up a very powerful team of allies and Strong, Turner and even the discarded Marriott made valuable contributions. Mansbridge's combination of evangelical zeal and diplomatic skill had been decisive in forging the alliance between the working-class students, the Oxford reformers and the Board of Education.

It must be remembered, however, that the campaign of Mansbridge and his Oxford allies was only partially successful. It had four aims: to establish tutorial classes; to bring university working-class education under a degree of labour control; to open the door of Oxford to workers; and to secure a Royal Commission to reform the two ancient universities. The first half of this programme was a conspicuous success. Tutorial classes spread rapidly, reaching the number of 145, with over 3,200 students, by 1913-14. Nearly all of the universities in England and Wales followed the lead of Oxford and set up joint committees on similar lines. The second part was, however, an almost complete failure. The resources were not found to send more than a handful of tutorial class students to Oxford and the Royal Commission did not materialise until after the First World War. When the Oxford Report came out, Mansbridge tried to persuade Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Education, to press for a Commission, without which the democratisation of Oxford could not proceed very far. Runciman made sympathetic noises, but offered the unconvincing excuse that it would be difficult to find Commissioners 'endowed with the requisite spirit' who were at the same time acceptable to Oxford and Cambridge.[52]

Despite these failures, the reformers gained some benefits from attacking on a broad front. Some conservatives were prepared to support the development of tutorial classes and of workers' colleges on Ruskin lines, as a means of diverting the attack on the existing Oxford system. Some of those who, since the advance of labour in the 1906 election, had lain awake at night listening fearfully for the tramp of revolutionary boots, saw the virtues of education for social responsibility even if they did not relish education for emancipation. The principal benefit was that adult education became for a time not just the private business of a secular cult, but a national concern.

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The 1908 Report: Antidote to Class Struggle?

Roger Fieldhouse

In one of its most famous and most frequently quoted passages, *Oxford and Working-class Education* incontrovertibly asserts that it had always been the older universities' privilege 'to train men for all departments of political life and public administration' (para. 78). It was echoing James Stuart's argument, thirty-seven years earlier, that Cambridge University should extend 'the benefits of the University throughout the country' in order to 'continue in its hands the permeating influence which it is desirable that it should possess'.[1] According to the 1908 Report, it was 'incumbent upon universities to watch carefully every sign that a new class is ready to receive their guidance' (para. 83) and the 'present moment' offered just such a sign. The growth of Labour representation in Parliament and local government, the expansion in membership of political associations and societies and the increasing *political* activity of the trade unions, meant that 'the Trade Union secretary and "Labour Member" need an Oxford education as much...as the civil servant or the barrister.' These changes in 'the constitution of English society and in the distribution of political power' made it imperative that the working classes 'should obtain the knowledge necessary to enable them to show foresight in their choice of political means' (paras. 77-78). The timing and the content of the Report should thus be seen very much in the context of the developments within the labour movement and the spread of socialist ideas in Britain within the preceding quarter century.

During the 1850s and 1860s a respectable 'new model' trade union movement had opted to collaborate with employers in the expectation that this would entitle them to share in the bonanza of the 'golden age of British capitalism'. For the labour aristocrats of the craft unions at least, this strategy did apparently yield huge dividends in the form of improved standards of living, political enfranchisement, trade union rights and a mass of social reform legislation, in return for their unaggressive, conciliatory approach to industrial relations. By the early 1870s they had obtained apparently unending prosperity and 'a wholly unexpected place in the sun.'[2] But economic depression in the later 1870s meant that there was no longer the continuous growth to provide full employment and constantly rising real wages, even for the labour aristocracy. They discovered that sliding scales could go down as well as up and that labour was still a disposable asset in a capitalist economy – to be discarded when no longer needed. The new model unions faced defeats and decline as their members struggled with the consequences of structural changes in industry. Shrinking profit margins forced firms to merge or amalgamate in search of economies of scale and introduce mechanisation which caused job losses and de-skilling. 'Step by step the labour aristocrat found himself forced into the ranks of the working class; and, on the whole, he moved to the left'.[3] It was in this industrial and political atmosphere that Britain witnessed the emergence of socialist organisations and ideas and a 'new unionism' during the 1880s.[4]

In 1881 the Democratic Federation was founded by H.M. Hyndman and by 1884, when it changed its name to the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), it had become a focus of working-class revolutionism, at least in London. It quickly grew into 'the first modern socialist organisation of national importance in Britain.'[5] A breakaway from the SDF led by William Morris and Eleanor Marx formed the Socialist League in 1884. Although it succumbed to anarchism after a few years, the Socialist League was important in spreading more libertarian, less deterministic notions of socialism than those favoured by Hyndman and the SDF. While neither organisation attracted a mass membership, their appearance signified the introduction of organised Marxism in this country. During 1886 and 1887 London experienced a spate of socialist demonstrations organised by the League and the SDF, giving rise to rumours and fears of insurrection, and violent clashes with the police and troops.

Meanwhile, the Home Rule crisis of 1885-86 split the Liberal Party and opened the way to the formation of an independent, working-class Labour Party. Already, in 1884, the Fabian Society had been founded. Although clearly not a working-class organisation, it was advocating a transition to a socialist society through increasing state intervention and municipal enterprise – what became known as 'gas and water socialism'. This evolutionary socialism was not widely regarded as a serious threat to existing social structures, but it was seen by the bourgeoisie as a move in the wrong direction. Their apprehension was heightened in 1888 by Keir Hardy's Mid-Lanark by-election campaign which, 'though unsuccessful, helped to begin the "labour revolt" against the domination of the Liberal Associations.'[6]

More immediately significant, and threatening, was a revival of militancy amongst trade unionists. Between 1886-88, iron and steel workers, railway workers and miners formed new, more militant unions – the British

Steel Smelters' Amalgamated Association, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. Other craftsmen, such as building workers and engineers, were likewise showing greater militancy; but it was the successful unionisation of the previously unorganised 'labouring poor' that made the 'new unionism' seem really threatening. The invasion of Westminster by the striking match girls and women in 1888, and the victorious dockers' strike of 1889, with the subsequent formation of general labour unions – to unite workers on a class, rather than a sectional, basis – raised the spectre of mass working-class organisation. By 1889 there were approximately three-quarters of a million trade unionists in Britain. This trade union explosion 'provided the opportunity for socialists to move away from merely propagandist work, or from the quasi-insurrectionary fantasies of unemployed riots, into the potentially much more fruitful area of strike leadership and trade union activity.'[7] As Engels put it, 'the masses are on the move and there is no holding them any more.'[8]

Within three or four years, this new unionism was in retreat before a counter-attack by the employers and the union membership among unskilled workers rapidly declined. But it did survive in expanding industries, such as water, gas and electricity. More important, the division between old and new unionism, craftsmen and unskilled workers, was disappearing. Faced by an onslaught on trade unionism by employers, judiciary and government, all trade unionists began to feel a common identity. Moreover, there was a drawing together of this new unionism and the political activists. 'There was a natural affinity between the ethos of new unionism, with its emphasis on working-class solidarity and support for state action, and the ideals of the socialists'.[9]

Radicalism had been spreading in London for some years, stimulated by Bradlaugh's secularist campaign; the agitation for electoral reform in 1884 and Home Rule after 1886; and Fabian 'municipal socialism', especially after the formation of the London County Council in 1888. In the provinces a more specifically *socialist* independence from the two major political parties was being fomented by the *Clarion* (an influential and popular socialist newspaper launched in Manchester by Robert Blatchford in 1891, which succeeded in spreading socialist ideas amongst the working class); and the labour and socialist clubs that sprang up in the industrial West Riding and Lancashire during the 1890s. This new political force was given considerable impetus by the return of Keir Hardy, John Burns and Havelock Wilson as independent labour candidates for West Ham, Battersea and Middlesbrough in the 1892 general election.

Even more significant was the formation in the following year of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), which aimed to weld the trade union and political wings of the growing labour movement together. The ILP, which was founded at a meeting in Bradford, reflected particularly the provincial independence from the main political parties and had a much stronger working-class base than the Fabian Society. It offered an evangelical socialist crusade against the evils of capitalism, with the object of establishing a classless, harmonious socialist commonwealth where competition would be replaced by co-operation, conflict by fellowship and hierarchy by equality. Its first priority was to secure the election of independent Labour men to Parliament rather than fight the class war and it therefore adopted a programme of social reform rather than all-out socialism, in order to appeal to a wider electorate and avoid antagonising the unions. Nevertheless, despite this moderation, its socialist objective – to secure the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange – and its widespread working-class support, were enough to cause alarm amongst middle-class Conservatives and Liberals.

The ILP made progress in local government elections. By 1900 it claimed 106 local councillors, 66 members of school boards and 51 poor law guardians. This progress, and that of the Fabians, was not without its set-backs, but, together with the SDF, they gradually increased the number of Labour members serving on borough councils during the 1890s. By 1895 there were approximately 600 Labour councillors and in 1898 West Ham became the first local council to have a Labour majority.

There was little the ruling class could do about this constitutional progress, but attempts could be, and were, made to halt the advance of the new unionism. Vigorous policing helped to break the gasworkers' strike in 1889 and the use of police baton charges, troops, cavalry and even warships became a feature of industrial disputes during the 1890s. At Featherstone in 1893 two locked-out miners were shot dead and a number of others wounded when soldiers opened fire on a demonstration. Anti-union propaganda was also used, particularly in effective newspaper presentation of the employers' attack on the unions as a battle of 'free labour' against the coercion of the unions and the corporate tyranny of the closed shop. Employers' organisations, such as the Shipping Federation, were used to recruit and transport black-leg labour to break strikes. In 1893 several thousand 'free labourers' were brought to Hull under military and police protection for this purpose. In the same year a National Free Labour Association was formed to supply employers with workmen wherever there was a strike. In 1896 the Engineering Employers' Federation declared the employers' determination to obtain the freedom to manage their own affairs and to adopt an American-style union-smashing policy. The following year it instigated a selective national lockout of members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers – virtually forcing them to abandon all collective bargaining, resistance to piecework and demands for the closed shop. 'The defeat of the aristocratic engineers sent a shock wave of insecurity through the whole trade union movement.'[10]

Not content with this onslaught, the judiciary mounted an attack on the trade union immunities granted in legislation of 1871 and 1875. A judgement of 1896 found that putting pressure on people to deter them from entering their place of work was illegal – thus outlawing what previously had been considered legitimate peaceful picketing. And five years later, in 1901, the famous Taff Vale case found the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants liable for losses sustained by the railway company during a strike. This judgement, combined with another, two weeks later, which stated that a strike, or even a threat to strike, could be considered a conspiracy to injure, rendered the unions liable for damages caused by any industrial action and effectively paralysed them.

In the face of these attacks, there was growing support in the trade union movement for the strengthening of Labour representation in Parliament, to look after its interests and seek protective trade union legislation. Since the Liberal Party's disastrous showing in the 1895 general election, there was increasing enthusiasm for the idea of an independent, working-class political party. In February 1900 a conference of trade unions, the Fabian Society, the ILP and SDF agreed to establish a distinct Labour group in Parliament. A Labour Representation Committee (LRC), consisting of two members of the ILP, two from the SDF, one Fabian and seven trade unionists, was authorised to run independent Labour candidates. At first, progress was slow but the Taff Vale judgement galvanished the trade unions into support.

In 1902 David Shackleton won a by-election at Clitheroe as an LRC candidate and he was joined the following year by Will Crooks who was elected for Woolwich and Arthur Henderson for Barnard Castle. By 1903, the year which also saw the formation of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA), the LRC had close on one million members and had become a potentially powerful party in its own right. The Liberals therefore sought an electoral pact with the LRC, to incorporate them into a Liberal alliance before they became a real threat. As a result of this pact, 29 LRC candidates were elected in the 1906 general election. With one other member subsequently joining the newly-named Labour Party, it boasted 30 members when Parliament reassembled in February 1906. 'The rather synthetic Tory horror at the "socialist" advance'[11] undoubtedly exaggerated the socialism of the new party, but was not altogether feigned. The real reason for the fear of the middle or ruling classes was not the emergent labour movement's extreme socialism – its predominant ideology was much closer to liberalism with a collectivist tinge – but its *mass* appeal, its distinctly working-class constituency and its apparent independence of the guiding tutelage of the bourgeosie. For them, as the 1908 Report makes clear, this redistribution of political power made it vital that the working class (and particularly its leaders) should receive such guidance.

This seemed all the more urgent because at its periphery the labour movement was not liberal-collectivist: it was opening the door to Marxism. 'By 1900 the SDF had established itself as a national force with some 43 branches in London alone. Forthright SDF propaganda had made socialism a vital force influencing many thousands of workers'.[12] In 1903 a Scottish group broke away from the SDF, consisting of 'impossibilists' who opposed the SDF's reformist compromises, flirtations with parliamentary politics and any short-term palliatives on the road to socialism. They formed a separate Socialist Labour Party (SLP) and the following year a London-based breakaway from the SDF formed the Socialist Party of Great Britian (SPGB). The SLP and SPGB were Bolshevik-type revolutionary parties, convinced that socialism would arrive only after the collapse of capitalism and would be achieved only by a well-disciplined, ideologically sound cadre of revolutionaries who would lead the workers in the class struggle when the time came. They argued 'the need to create a new type of working-class party, one that could act as a vanguard, providing the most dedicated, self-sacrificing and knowledgeable people for the class battles ...[The SLP] came to see that the capitalist state could not be gradually transformed into a socialist one; that the capitalist state had to be smashed and replaced by a workers' state. It also saw that, to accomplish the execution of capitalism, a sharp knife – namely, a revolutionary party – was required.'[13] The SLP also favoured general industrial unions (in opposition to the liberal-reformist, sectional craft unions) and in 1906 founded the 'Advocates of Industrial Unionism' whose ultimate aim was stated in the SLP paper, *The Socialist*, in April 1908: '...having overthrown the class state, the united Industrial Unions will furnish the administrative machinery for directing industry in the Socialist Commonwealth'.[14]

Although the membership of these revolutionary parties was very small numerically (and purposely restricted to ideological purists), their influence cannot be measured in terms of membership figures. They took a very prominent part in the politicisation of the labour movement after 1900 and they helped to stimulate 'the proliferation of revolutionary industrial organisations'[15] which led to the outbreak of syndicalism amongst trade unionists (even though the SLP opposed pure syndicalism which denied the role of a revoluntionary party). 'Although only briefly a force of consequence, syndicalism...had a lasting influence on the development of the British labour movement. It was a nursery school, a training ground for militants'.[16]

Thus by the early twentieth century there was 'a socialist movement, a Marxist tradition, a challenge from the socialists to the old line liberal leaders in the unions and with the LRC the first signs of the emergence of organised labour as an independent political force.'[17] Conscious of the growing strength of the socialist parties in Germany and France, British Liberals as well as Conservatives were anxious to prevent the same thing happening in this country.

One of the problems they had to overcome was the spread of independent working-class education which was helping to equip the socialist movement with the intellectual tools to challenge the liberal ideology. By the end of the nineteenth century, militant activists in the labour movement were finding themselves in need of the education they had been denied at school – particularly in such subjects as economics, politics, history, and sociology. But 'because of their angle of interest, many workers who wanted to study held a deep suspicion of "expert" advice and educational "uplift" '[18] such as that offered by the Adult Schools or University Extension and soon to be imitated by the WEA. There was already a strong independent working-class autodidactic tradition, typified by such men as John Burns, Tom Mann and Tommy Jackson. This tradition was radical rather than socialist or Marxist, but it was subversive and disruptive and the autodidacts learnt a great deal about exploitation and the class struggle. Even more important, they controlled both the process and the content of their education: 'it remained *their* education, for they defined both the purpose and the boundaries of their intellectual exploration'.[19] To this tradition was now added a network of study groups, study circles and classes organised by the socialist movement which produced its own tutors. The Clarion movement, the Co-operative movement, the Labour Church movement, the Socialist Sunday Schools, the SDF, the Socialist League, the Fabian Society and the ILP were all part of 'a whole complex of institutions reflecting the outlook of the working class and under their own control' which set out, in the words of the Socialist League slogan, to 'educate, agitate, organise'[20] and 'paved the way for a rebirth of the idea of independent working-class education.'[21] For example, Hyndman's books popularising Marxian economics stimulated an interest in learning about alternatives to orthodox political economy. The Fabian Society provided book boxes and organised classes in economics, history, local government, etc., for working men's clubs and socialist societies. But it was the Socialist League under the influence of William Morris that was probably the most potent educational influence during the 1880s. In 1886 a 'Free Education' demonstration was held in Trafalgar Square, immediately followed by a League meeting where it was asserted that the struggle for education 'must be made part of the great stuggle for a complete change in the conditions of life' – echoing Morris's argument that 'the knowledge we have to help people to is threefold – to know their own, to know how to take their own and to know how to use their own.'[22] There is little doubt that:

> The earliest English Marxists were extraordinarily able and enthusiastic propagandists. They lectured in Trafalgar Square, at park rostra and on street corners; they published...newspapers and magazines...they distributed pamphlets and broadsides and submitted letters to virtually every newspaper in the country. They also contributed articles to the major reviews; they wrote books...they participated in debates...they travelled to Oxford and Cambridge to introduce Marxism to the universities; they campaigned for public office; and they engaged in the translation of Marx's writings. By 1890 Marxism ...was in the forefront of English intellectual life.[23]

In 1899 Ruskin Hall was founded at Oxford 'to educate working men in order to achieve social change.'[24] According to one of its American founders, Walter Vrooman, 'knowledge must be used to emancipate humanity, not to gratify curiosity, blind instincts and desire for respectability'.[25] There was widespread support from the trade unions who saw Ruskin as another source of independent working-class education. By 1907 more than half the total financial contributions for the College were coming from the trade union movement (see 1908 Report, para. 9). That same year, the TUC issued an official appeal for support for Ruskin in which it quite bluntly stated 'now that Labour is showing that it is determined to take its rightful position in the country, it more than ever needs the knowledge and training necessary to maintain that position.'[26]

The Ruskin Hall Scheme extended beyond the residential college in Oxford. It also stimulated classes in many parts of the country, particularly in industrial areas. There were 96 such classes in existence by 1902. It also catered for correspondence students, enrolling 1,800 during its first two years. Local Ruskin Halls were also established in Manchester, Liverpool, Stockport and Birmingham (although most of these outside activities, except the correspondence courses, were abandoned after 1903, partly because of the emergence of the WEA).

The true independence and socialist commitment of Ruskin might always have been in doubt. Not so the educational activity of the socialist political parties. The SDF organised a number of classes and informal pub discussions to introduce its members to the ideas of Marx and Engels. Its most renowned teacher was John Maclean who by 1906-7 was lecturing to large audiences and conducting classes in various parts of Scotland. Some years later he explained that he wished to see all opportunities for self-development opened up to the working-class, but he was 'specially interested in such education as will make revolutionaries...The very antagonisms in society...make it...urgent that the workers should forge their own educational machine for their own class ends.'[27]

The SLP attached great importance to political education: a rigorous and concentrated study of Marxism was essential training for its revolutionary cadres. Sharing the belief of the American SLP leader, Daniel de Leon, that 'a ruling class dominates not only the bodies, but the mind also of the class that it rules', the British SLP 'looked to education to open the workers' eyes to the tricks played by the conjurors of bourgeoisdom, who produced compelling illusions of freedom, plenty and justice out of the realities of poverty, exploitation and arbitrary power. Education, if it was sound, would reveal to the workers the boundless opportunities for human happiness following the overthrow of capitalism.'[28] Workers' interest in education was thus seen as an opportunity for steering them in the direction of socialist revolution. The SLP produced pamphlets advocating the theory and practice of industrial unionism and conducted classes and correspondence courses in Marxism, economics, history, philosophy, logic and literature. These classes played an important part in the development of 'red' Clydeside; and similar classes were organised in other parts of Scotland and also south of the border – for example in Manchester, Newcastle, Reading and London. The classes took place in factories and elsewhere on Sunday afternoons. Class members would then go off to spread their socialist ideas to large audiences who collected at street corners on Sunday evenings.

The syndicalists also recognised the importance of education in propagating their ideas and established a range of educational activities and informal discussion circles. All this independent working-class education had a dramatic effect on Ruskin, where the authorities' attempts to strengthen the College's connections with the University (see below) brought them into conflict with the socialist students, whose SDF, SLP and syndicalist training predisposed them to have nothing to do with the University's bourgeois education. In October 1908 the students founded the Plebs League 'with the avowed aim of providing a platform for pleading the cause of independent working-class education and appealing to the rank and file in the labour movement. Its initial goal was to transform Ruskin College into a genuine *Labour* college run by workers for workers.'[29] This conflict of views as to the real purpose of the College led ultimately to the Ruskin strike in 1909.

This multifarious network of independent working-class education meant that by the early years of the twentieth century 'a fresh generation of young militants was emerging, thirsting for knowledge and prepared to discard the dogmas of capitalist orthodoxy.'[30] It was a frightening prospect for a bourgeoisie steeped in liberal values. 'The growth of independent working-class thought, the increase of independent working-class action, has given the purveyors of culture bad dreams – red dreams with plots in them, plots of dagger and dynamite.'[31]

Into this political dissonance stepped Albert Mansbridge with his proposals for a Workers' Educational Association and his conception of education as something ideal in itself, completely uncontaminated by the urge for material improvements or social and political change. He believed that access to the 'deep draughts of knowledge' in the universities would raise the workers above such mundane aspirations and 'in spite of the stressful and baneful days,...divert the strong movements of the people from the narrow paths of immediate interests.'[32] Mansbridge quoted, with obvious approval, the criticisms voiced by the General Secretary of the Society of Railway Servants of the allegedly irresponsible and thoughtless actions of some of his executive committee during the Taff Vale strike, as an example of the imperative need for wise education for those taking an active part in democratic movements such as trade unions. Considering the trade union movement's perception of the Taff Vale judgement as blatant class oppression, Mansbridge could hardly have selected a more significant example to demonstrate the real implications of his concept of spiritual, non-materialist education for the working class. If Mansbridge was naively unconscious of the political implications of his approach, this was not true of many of the WEA's influential supporters, such as Dr. John Percival, Bishop of Hereford, who advised the Chairman of the Oxford Delegacy in 1906 that 'to exercise its highest influence among the working class generally', Oxford should work through the leading trade unions.[33] The WEA was welcomed as a golden opportunity to exercise this influence:

> Mansbridge's view of education, echoing so completely their own ideas, was totally acceptable to the Oxford liberals. The new Association promised to be a safe beneficiary of their liberalism, an ideal opportunity for acquiring a veneer

> of working-class participation and support without risking any fundamental upheavals...Similarly, the Government (or at least its Board of Education) was seeking ways of fending off accusations of being 'permeated with a caste feeling...and...entirely estranged from working class needs.' It attempted to do so by appointing D. J. Shackleton, a Labour M.P., and Mansbridge to the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education and also, at the 1907 Oxford Conference, making the famous offer of a share of the 'golden stream'...Support for the WEA was seen as a sound political investment against extremism.[34]

In fact, support for the WEA was part of the liberal social and welfare reformism with which the new Liberal Government after 1906 hoped to placate and incorporate the labour movement. It was part of a well established strategy to contain and subordinate working-class politics. 'Increasingly between 1890 and 1914 the attempt was made to defuse unrest by incorporating labour representatives within limited bargaining institutions and by the development of state-sponsored social welfare policies'.[35] While the Conservatives were not averse to this strategy, they were more inclined to confront the labour movement in a head-on counter-attack (described earlier). It was 'New Liberalism' which aimed to contain the socialist impulses and head off revolutionism by offering 'limited socialism' as a political alternative to the Marxian socialism:

> From the 1890s onwards, New Liberalism had a profound impact on working-class politics, helping to persuade working-class activists, even while they agitated for an independent Party and, many of them, looked to socialism as an ultimate goal, that their interests lay in co-operation with the new breed of liberal in a drive to abolish poverty via the legislative intervention of the state...Whatever its ameliorative effects early twentieth-century social reform embodied a counter-attack on democratic and working-class institutions at least as formidable as the employers' attack on trade unions in the 1890s.[36]

The Liberals' social welfare policy after 1906 was intended both to increase industrial efficiency and introduce mechanisms for disciplining labour as well as providing a minimal social safety net. The government grants towards the relief of the unemployed, the old age pensions, and Beveridge's new labour exchanges, all introduced between 1906-9, involved labour in a partnership with the state. This was even more true of the National Insurance Act (1911) which provided a national system of insurance for sickness and unemployment and included the trade unions amongst the 'approved societies' empowered to administer this insurance scheme. The trade unions thus became a part of the state machinery. A history of the small National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives shows how its members held 100 positions on statutory bodies and committees by 1912. 'There were now members of Old-Age Pension Committees, members of National Insurance Act Advisory Committees, a member of a Water Board and School Managers. All these changes meant that the union was...becoming more closely knit both with society and with the state...It was co-operating with state machinery to administer new and complicated social legislation'.[37] The labour movement's involvement in this welfare statism was an involvement in social control. This was well understood by Liberal experts and particularly Lloyd George 'who by 1912 regarded the parliamentary socialists as "the best policemen for the Syndicalists".'[38] State aid for adult education was another, if small, part of this welfare state control. Following the publication of the 1908 Report, this consisted very largley of grant-aid for tutorial classes.

After five rather frustrating years trying to adapt University Extension to its own purpose, the WEA called the conference in Oxford in 1907 to approve the formation of the committee which produced the 1908 Report. One of the main objectives of the Report was to secure University control of the education of the leading members of the working class in order 'to guide their general outlook...towards social harmony.'[39] From the middle of the nineteenth century there had been a growing awareness amongst the more liberal elements at Oxford and Cambridge, headed by T. H. Green, of the need to foment social harmony by exalting citizenship of an overarching corporate State above all material values, thereby preventing the workers, understandably angered by undeniable injustices, from 'destroying, in their fury, not only unfairness and exploitation, but also civilization itself.'[40] This social harmony was made manifest at a meeting in Mansbridge's lodgings in Wellington Square on the evening of the 1907 Oxford Conference, idyllically described by Alfred Zimmern, a member of the Oxford radical reform Catiline Club and of the WEA:

> The Bishop and a number of workmen were staying in the house and they were joined by one friend after another who dropped in, in Oxford fashion, for a talk. Most branches of education were represented: Whitehall (which sat on the window-sill), Cambridge, in the person of a Fellow of Trinity, the Oxford Professoriate and the elementary teacher; there was capital in the shape of a London banker and there was labour galore (in both sexes) and a Bishop to complete the picture. Wellington Square is not perhaps the place a romance-writer would select for his vision of Utopia; but that night at least it seemed a 'centre of the intellectual aspirations of the whole community'.[41]

The Report itself regretted the growing tendency towards class divisions in society which made it 'increasingly difficult for the various sections of the community to appreciate each other's circumstances and aspirations' (in the manner of the Wellington Square evening) and '*for this reason* it seems important that the leaders of every class should have an opportuity of obtaining a wide outlook on the historical development and economic condition of the whole English community, such as is given by a University education' (para. 78, writer's italics.) Such an education, the outward mark of which was 'a broad reasoned view of things and a sane measure of social values', would equip the workmen with 'the civic qualities which enable him to co-operate with his fellows and to judge wisely on matters which concern not only himself, but the whole country to which he belongs' (para. 82). 'By broadening his knowledge and strengthening his judgement', this Oxford education 'would make him at once a more efficient servant of his own society and *a more potent influence on the side of industrial peace'*, (para. 139 writer's italics.) In this way, the working-class students' education was envisaged as 'a means, not only of developing their own powers of enjoyment, but of enabling them to exercise an influence for good in the social life of the factory and town' (para. 137). Thus was social harmony – the very antithesis of class struggle – an unquestioned doctrine of the workers' education advocated by the Report. On this vital point there was no common ground with the independent working-class education movement whose object was summarised by the Plebs League mandate: 'Nothing more nor less than the education of the workers in the interests of the workers'.[42]

There was a little more agreement over the need for the working class to organise and control its own education. The Report recommended that a representative body of workpeople should be largely responsible for organising and promoting the classes and should 'have a voice in selecting the teacher...', although this was somewhat diluted in the summary of recommendations (para. 89 and Recommendation IV). By giving the representative body a 'controlling voice in the selection of a teacher' it was hoped to avoid the imposition of teachers who had 'an unconscious class bias' (para.90). It was felt that the selected teachers should not only have the neccessary qualifications, but should also have a knowledge of and sympathy with working-class life, habits of thought and points of view (paras. 100-02). But there were to be strict limits to this consumer control. It was not intended to imply that 'Oxford should, "tune her pulpits" to meet the view of any class' (para. 90) – echoing the fears already expressed by Hudson Shaw and J. A. R. Marriott and later to be expressed by other critics.[43] Control of the *content* of education was to remain firmly in the hands of the University. 'While the management and organisation of the class shall be mainly in the hands of workpeople, the selection of curricula and guidance in reading must be the duty of the University acting in co-operation with workpeople' (para. 92). This was a far cry from independent working-class education, as the first editorial of *Plebs* was quick to point out:

> If the education of the workers is to square with the ultimate object of the workers – social emancipation, then it is neccessary that the control of such an educational institution must be in the hands of the workers...Beware of the sounding brass and the tinkling cymbal of ruling class professed sympathies with labour.[44]

In the same way that New Liberalism aimed to incorporate the working class within the welfare state, so the Report envisaged working-class incorporation within the educational system, to minimise the attraction of a dangerous alternative system. Therefore working-class representation on the body organising and promoting the classes and on some of the governing bodies of the University was advocated because such representatives might make a useful contribution, because it would give them a valuable insight into the working of university institutions and because 'it secures the confidence and co-operation of large bodies of men who might otherwise be inclined to distrust Oxford' (para. 85). Even more significantly, the Report's Recommendation V, that Ruskin students should be awarded one-year certificates and two-year diplomas, effectively incorporated the College more closely within the University – precisely what the Ruskin students, fired with enthusiasm for independent working-class education, were attempting to avoid. The Report clearly intended 'to change Ruskin from a labour college into a college preparatory to university studies, involving a transformation of its whole ethos and purpose.'[45] Lord Curzon, Chancellor of the University, quite explicitly referred to subjecting Ruskin to the University's influences and discipline – to prevent its being dominated by the narrow views of particular political or economic schools or recruiting solely from one party.[46]

Another important premise of the Report was that working-class students should not be educated to abandon their class, or escape from it, but 'should remain in it and raise its whole level' by becoming leaders in their trade unions, or in their workshops, or by becoming working-class representatives on public bodies (para. 81). Their education would 'enable workmen to fulfil with greater efficiency the duties which they owe to their own class and...to the whole nation' by becoming full-time officials in trade unions, trade councils, friendly societies, co-operative societies, etc; by representing Labour in the House of Commons, in local government and on public bodies; and by becoming teachers of the tutorial classes – to help other working-class students (paras. 137-42). Thus,'...with minds enlarged by impartial study they...may become the future teachers and leaders, the philosophers and economists, of the working classes' (para. 144).

But what was this impartial study that formed the basis of the Report's grand educational vision: the promised land? The Plebs League certainly had no faith in it:

> No working-class student can undergo a University education and come through it untainted...University life is the breeding ground of re-action. It incites by its very nature towards breaking away from working-class aspirations...[Oxford University] is the place where men are taught to govern, it is the governing class who control it, it is they who decide what shall be taught and how it shall be taught and as the interests of these people are in direct antagonism to the interest of the workers, it is sheer folly for the latter to think that any good can come of sending any of their number there.[47]

The notion of impartiality or political neutrality had already been used by the organisers of the 1907 Oxford Conference to exclude association with the educational programme of the TUC from the agenda.[48] This provides some indication of how all-embracing their impartiality really was, but the real test was to be found in the *content* of the education provided. This is why the University's determination to retain control over the content and curricula (already referred to) was so crucial. A key issue was the nature of the economics classes, especially 'whether Marxist economics should be taught or merely ignored or refuted.'[49] Appendix VII of the Report offered some model courses of study 'to indicate upon what general lines the class teaching would proceed', including a course in economics. This was based very heavily on Marshall's *Economics of Industry* (described as 'undoubtedly the most authorative and sympathetic' textbook) and a variety of other Liberal and Fabian writers. The proposed syllabus did allow that 'if many members of the class have socialistic views' part of Marx's *Capital* or Hyndman's *Economics of Socialism* should be used. However, this constituted a very small part of the total course, apparently included as a sop to the socialistic students, to be omitted altogether for non-socialists! Moreover, 'the teacher who adopts this course must...be very sure that the criticism of Marx, implicit in the ordinary textbook, is equally carefully explained' – a warning not applied to any other parts of the course or text. It would be difficult to be more partial than that.

The history and political science courses, as was to be expected, laid a heavy emphasis on constitutionalism. The modern world course did include an option on the working-class movement in Europe and England (which aroused some opposition at Oxford)[50] and there was an option in the recent English history course on the labour-socialist movement since 1880. This did refer to the influence of Marx, Hyndman and Henry George, but was predominantly Fabian in its approach, as were the majority of the history and politics courses. For example, trade unions and the co-operative movement were excluded from the working-class political organisations covered in one of the recent English history options – they were studied separately as *non-political* organisations. This typifies the Liberal/Fabian influence which pervaded most of the syllabuses.

The 'impartial' study of historical and economic questions fostered by the tutorial classes from 1908 onwards 'was something very different from the Marxist studies promoted by [the] socialist groups which had inherited the earlier Socialist League slogan: educate – agitate – organise'[51] and which saw education as leading directly on to political action. From this perspective the 1908 Report was seen as an attempt by Oxford to surcharge the brains of working-class leaders 'with the ideas of a class above them, so that their interests may become identical with the interests of that class' and the WEA as 'hopelessly entangled in the class interests of those whose body and blood it is: ...a graft which only appears when the movement of the workers begins to gain in power.'[52]

After 1908, while 'the idea of a separate working-class educational system began to fade'[53] (at least in part owing to the effectiveness of *Oxford and Working Class Education*), the WEA and the tutorial class movement grew from strength to strength, providing an education that was 'broadly liberal, sometimes radical, sometimes pluralist, but essentially orthodox and anti-Marxist in its overall tenor'[54] for the working class and in particular for the emerging leaders of the labour movement. 'Its comfortable affinity with the British liberal tradition seemed to offer a welcome alternative to the revolutionary perspective of the Communist Party and the National Council of Labour Colleges – the perceived real enemies of the State. For all its occasional lapses, [this] adult education movement was welcomed by the establishment as a bulwark against revolutionism, a moderating influence and a form of social control. It helped to channel and reduce pressures and conflict, neutralise class antagonism and integrate the working class into British society – just like its "partner", the Labour Party'.[55] Its value as an antidote to class struggle was readily acknowledged by a Conservative President of the Board of Education some seventeen years after the publication of *Oxford and Working Class Education*:

> In adult education there is a continual struggle going on between the Universities and those bodies, like the Workers' Educational Association, who work with the Universities, on the one hand, and the Communist or semi-Communist Labour Colleges on the other. Hitherto the Workers' Educational Association and the University Extension people have been able to make headway against these undesirable propagandists because, largely owing to Government assistance, they can offer better facilities. On the whole, too, I think the education that they do offer is extraordinarily useful...If we force the WEA and the Universities to cut down their work we shall not choke off the demand for local classes which is extraordinarily strong in all parts of the country, but we shall open a wide door to the Labour Colleges and I believe

> that the result will be deplorable. In fact my own view is that £100,000 spent annually on this kind of work, properly controlled, would be about the best police expenditure we could indulge in.[56]

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The Report in Retrospect

W. E. Styler

From Bernard Jennings' writings on the origins of *Oxford and Working-Class Education* I have learnt, much to my surprise, that I was born (September 1907) in the midst of the important public discussion of adult education with which it was associated and about the time the Committee which produced it began its work. If these events had been arranged solely for my benefit they could hardly have been more appropriate. Born into a working-class family which had had no experience of education except that provided by the local elementary school and doomed (which seems to be the right word) to become a worker myself at the age of 14, I was obviously shaped to become a beneficiary of the new system of adult education the Report originated. The only qualification I would add to this statement is that I became equally in debt to the public library system from about the age of seven onwards.

The justification of this bit of autobiography is that it gives me a qualification for my allotted task in this volume, which is to consider the significance of the Report from its publication to the present day. If I claim that for most of the time I have been a participant observer it may be objected that I have been too much of a participant to be a good observer. However, in one respect or the other I have always been there.

Adult education as an active part of educational endeavour, originally in the form of the Adult School movement and the Mechanics' Institutes, had been a feature of the British scene for nearly a hundred years when the Report was published. The main new feature of the situation was the WEA, a voluntary movement of workers, supported by a number of trade unions and co-operative societies. Oxford University and the Report, in fact, acknowledged an important change in the British social situation, the emergence of a working class able to take advantage of a form of university education.

The Report put this favourable situation down to the effects of the creation of a national system of elementary education. The elementary schools, it said, 'had succeeded firstly in supplying the bases of intelligence which makes the future training possible, secondly, in awakening the more thoughtful members of the working class for advanced study under competent guidance'.[1] There existed consequently, as manifested by the conference which preceded the Committee which produced the Report, a demand by working people for the opening of universities to their service. The means by which this was to be done was through tutorial classes and through providing opportunity for full-time study in the universities for those workers able to profit. The most revolutionary proposition was the transformation of Oxford (and by implication the other universities) which was thus asked for. Although in due course the universities were transformed it was not in the way the Report thought desirable.

The emphasis upon the value of elementary education shows that the Committee was blind to a change which was occurring during its deliberations: the improvement in opportunity for secondary education created by the 1902 Education Act. By bringing into existence a new national system of secondary schools a contribution was being made, in fact, to the future of adult education, of tutorial classes and of the WEA, which was both profound and controversial in its effects. From the new classes emerging from these schools was to come the majority of the students found in adult education classes from the 1920s onwards. The workers equipped for university study by elementary education never appeared in the numbers foreseen in the Report and Oxford and the other universities have always seemed disinclined to alter their entrance qualifications except for a tiny majority of adult students.

The Board of Education, in deciding to give grant aid to the new type of classes, required that they should be of three years duration and limited in size, in accordance with the ideas of the Report. As Bernard Jennings pointed out, the new classes rapidly spread throughout the country and most universities established Joint Committees along the same lines as Oxford. It was a case of 'bliss was it in that dawn to be alive' because the new classes, and the WEA which organised them, unleashed a new spirit of idealistic endeavour. The biographer of A. D. Lindsay[2] says that at this time he was drawn into adult education and that the WEA 'was always invested for him with some sort of wonder and delight'. However, let me use a less known figure as illustration. T. F. Tout[3] wrote that for Mark Hovell, who reached Manchester University after leaving school at 14 and training as an elementary school teacher,

> The serious work of his life was now to begin. It was a time when the Workers' Educational Association was first operating on a large scale in Lancashire and he was at once swept up into the movement, being appointed in 1910 assistant lecturer in history at the University with special charge of WEA classes at Colne, Ashton and Leigh, to which others were subsequently added. He took the greatest pains in presenting his material in an acceptable form... He did not content himself simply with giving lectures and taking classes. In order to get to know his pupils personally, he stayed over week-ends at the towns where he

> taught. He had long Sunday tramps with his disciples over the moors and though he never flattered them and was sometimes rather austere in his dealings with them, he soon completely won their confidence and affection.

Hovell was one example among many but one of the chief impressions the quotation makes is the way in which the WEA and tutorial classes unleashed a new dynamic, pushing the older Extension lectures provided by Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester into secondary position in university adult education.

The First World War did not interfere with the new development for, as Bernard Jennings mentions, when the war ended, the number of tutorial classes was greater than when it began. The period after the war soon saw a proposal for further progress in the system, for *The 1919 Report* of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction[4] urged that each university should have a special department to administer its adult education work. In fact the universities were slow in implementing this proposal and generally did not put it into effect to the degree the 1919 Report thought desirable; indeed, on the contrary, they could be held to have committed the fault against which the Report warned, that of only a token gesture of fulfilment. If facts seem necessary to support this statement I point to Leeds and Sheffield, which did not establish departments until after the second world war, to Birmingham, which did not establish its department until 1929 and had only four staff tutors in 1939, and Manchester (a pioneer centre in adult education), which in 1939 had a department consisting of a Director, his secretary and one staff tutor when I joined it half way through the year. The new Director, appointed in 1938, had moved from a post as lecturer in the English department but without an increase in salary. Adult education in most universities and university colleges (Nottingham, and later Hull, were exceptions) was regarded by them as an area for a kind of altruism, a gift from the privileged to the poor, and it is only recently that this attitude has notably changed. A criticism I would make of Roger Fieldhouse's argument that the ruling class saw the new adult education as an antidote to revolutionary class struggle is that they were not prepared to spend a great deal of money or effort on it and therefore do not seem to have been strongly convinced.

The system that had appeared was one in which the WEA was the dominant agency. It was described in detail in the *Handbook and Directory of Adult Education* published by the British Institute for Adult Education for the years 1926-27 and 1927-28[5] (but no longer). To resume my bit of autobiography it was through this that I came in, for the discovery of the WEA through reading it (appropriately) in the public library caused me to join in and only a little later to become a member of a tutorial class. At the time I was a manual worker but only a few months later transferred to a white collar job and thus joined the ranks of the class from which most supporters of the WEA were drawn.

The tutorial class was in International Relations and I was pressured to join it by the WEA Midland District secretary, having elected to study English Literature in another class. One of the principles of the tutorial class was explained to me, for the Literature class was in its second year and I should not have been an 'effective student', with my attendance counted to help the class to earn its full Board of Education grant: illustrative of the strict formalism which Gwyn Harries-Jenkins says[6] has been one of the weaknesses of the tutorial class ideology. That I changed classes was a result of my readiness to agree with superior authority rather than enthusiasm for the procedure.

My connection with classes of this kind, tutorial and others, some under university auspices, some under the WEA alone, continued in an active form until 1976 and throughout the whole of this period they retained the same character. Indeed the last class I conducted in 1976 could just as well have been the first I conducted in 1933 or the one I joined as a student in 1927. This similarity was a result, not so much of the social class composition of the group of students, which within limits varied with the localities in which the classes were held, but from the methods of teaching which the Board of Education and its successors said should be used. Membership was limited and half the time of each class meeting had to be devoted to discussion; in other words the classes were discussion groups under the leadership of tutors academically trained in the subjects they were studying.

Under these circumstances the social class of the students, although not irrelevant, was of secondary importance. This class situation and procedure, in fact, created relations of equality among the students, graduates sat with elementary school products, bosses with workers and teachers with the parents of the children who attended the schools where they worked. The best students in this situation were not inevitably those who had had the best full-time education; some with minimum education made a better contribution than their educational superiors. One class I took had the headmaster of the local grammar school and his assistant head as members but they were overshadowed by the workers from a local carpet factory. Another class (University extension this one but conducted along WEA lines) on 'The Study of Society' had been arranged at the request of a group of scientists, but recruitment being open to anybody a warehouseman signed on, and he proved the best student, having read more relevant books than all the scientists put together. I can't, in fact, remember an educationally mixed class in which one of the 'educated' students stood out: probably the education of this group had an inhibiting effect in such a situation and they didn't want to show their limitations. I also do not remember any class in which differences in wealth and social position caused any difficulties in class proceedings; the workers who came always included some who would expound their views irrespective of who was listening to them.

Since my experience as a student (limited) and as a tutor and administrator (extensive) has thus led me to believe that this kind of class has been an outstandingly valuable instrument of adult education, I have never felt particularly concerned that the working class never supported tutorial or similar type classes in the numbers desired by their inventors and that the so-called 'middle class' (lower middle in the majority of cases in fact) has been mainly the dominant element. The term 'working class', in any case, refers to a very uncertain section of society and I feel that a recent book by Trevor Blackwell and Jeremy Seabrook[7] has much that seems good sense to say on this matter. They point out that the working class is 'constantly left behind', in other words that it is a shifting body of people whose standards are always changing. Further the decision who is working class depends not so much on any means of measuring social position as the vantage point from which it is examined. When I was a beginner in adult education the element in the student body of the WEA most criticised was the teachers. 'Too many teachers' was an often expressed complaint, but from the point of view of the true Victorian middle class, the professionals and the wealthy educated at Oxford and Cambridge, the teachers looked like members of the working class. They were educated in institutions, training colleges and teacher training centres, which F. D. Maurice[8] saw as a new kind of adult education institution, certainly not in the same broad category of higher education as Oxford and Cambridge.

Of the new generation educated in the secondary schools established under the 1902 Education Act only a small number went on to universities (or even training colleges) and many left school at an age not much higher than the boys and girls of the elementary schools: leaving at fifteen to take a job in an office was frequent among those known to me. People of this type had had an education better than the minimum but far short of the best, or even second best. The WEA and the tutorial class might have been made for them; Mansbridge himself belonged to this class although of an earlier generation. Their education and intelligence had made them aware of the value of further education as a means of making life enjoyable and worth while. Many would have gone on to universities had the opportunity been available and had family circumstances permitted; because they couldn't go they were as much among the educationally deprived as those who had left elementary schools at the minimum age.

The dominance of the WEA and tutorial classes in what was called by the President of the British Institute of Adult Education 'the adult education movement'[9] affected the position of the local education authorities. Most were puzzled by what was the adult education they were required to describe for the *Handbook*, tending to think this term meant only liberal non-vocational adult education of the kind provided by the universities and the WEA and not knowing how to deal with what the *Handbook* called the 'Considerable amount of non-vocational Adult Education (that) takes place under all Authorities in Continuation and Evening Classes, Technical Schools, Schools of Art, Schools of Commerce, etc.'[10] They therefore mainly concentrated their accounts on the help they gave to the universities and the WEA and, in the case of the county authorities, to the recently created County Library Service. Some authorities said they made a limited provision of classes on their own initiative, although those which did stressed its confinement to centres where 'there are no voluntary organisations' (Buckinghamshire), 'a few districts' (Derbyshire) and 'in certain centres' (Gloucester and Kent). Salford said, sadly, that it had tried to provide adult education but the effort had failed. The authorities themselves saw recreational adult education and so-called 'women's subjects', so important since the Second World War, as uncertain as a part of adult education. The most positive information came from the London County Council, which drew attention not only to its Literary Institutes and Men's and Women's Institutes but also to the growing volume of the work undertaken in its 20 Technical Institutes and its Commercial Institutes. It also showed that it was committed to general adult and continuing education by saying that 'The LCC is prepared to provide expert Instruction and Lectures in practically any vocational or cultural subject at workshops, offices and other places offering suitable accommodation if a nucleus of 15-20 students can be guaranteed'.[11] Regrettably London has always been regarded as a law unto itself and was not a model which other authorities felt capable of following; thus the concept of continuing education was left for a later generation.

For the universities, in addition to the developments already described, there were three others which had important consequences after the Second World War.

The first was the appointment of so-called Article XI tutors (under Article XI of the Board of Education Grant Regulations). Their function was to promote adult education in rural areas which, in contrast to the position since the Second World War, then received a good deal of attention. They strengthened the staffing of the university departments of adult education but were more important because they resulted in the universities accepting responsibility for shorter courses than tutorial classes. The same consequence was produced by the introduction of sessional classes in 1938. Then during the war the rules relating to the registration of added students were relaxed, making their attendances effective from the time they joined classes and prescribing a minimum number to qualify instead two thirds of those registered. It thus became possible for a tutorial class to complete its third year with a substantially different group of students from those who were enrolled at the beginning.

The Second World War proved, in fact, to be a profitable time for adult education, mainly because of the large-scale provision of lectures and courses for members of the British and allied armed forces. It caused close collaboration between the universities, the WEA and the local authorities. A side effect of this was that R. D. Waller, Director of Extra-mural Studies in Manchester University, learnt about the large volume of work the local education authorities were doing in adult education and this caused him to realise that training in adult education was a need which universities might meet. As a result Manchester became the pioneer university in this field of work, its success eventually stimulating several other universities to follow its lead.

The post-war period saw a general expansion of adult education and the end of the central position which the WEA had enjoyed. In the university sector there was greatly increased activity in areas independent of the WEA, including courses of a vocationally related kind, such as criminology for policemen, social studies for local government officers, civil servants, hospital workers and social workers, courses in applied science for technologists and courses for managerial and supervisory workers from industry and the social services. Another field of activity, in which the WEA and LEAs shared, was the provision of day release courses for trade unionists; at one stage these were specially favoured by the Ministry of Education, which encouraged the creation of new full-time appointments to teach in them. Yet another area of provision, important for some university departments, was in training courses for magistrates.

University expansion was not only in these fields of activity, however, but also in liberal studies. In this respect the universities were aided by a general relaxation of requirements relating to the length of courses, facilitated by those developments of before and during the war to which reference has already been made. The pace setter in this expansion was Birmingham, under a new Director of Studies, D. R. Dudley, who achieved spectacular success with courses arranged independently of the WEA. Under his leadership Birmingham rapidly increased its staff of full-time tutors and set out deliberately to cater for the middle-class population of its area. When Dudley gave up his post to become Professor of Latin he published a survey[12] describing the subjects provided and of 300 listed 280 were in Archaeology, Archive Study, Fine Arts, Geography, History, International, Literature, Music, Philosophy and the Natural Sciences. Many of the courses were shorter even than the sessionals which multiplied greatly throughout the country; the so-called short sessional of ten or twelve meetings became a commonly used device, although because it was short it couldn't really be a sessional.

Another important figure on the post-war scene was S. G. Raybould, the first Director of Extra-mural Studies in Leeds University. Here was a traditionalist of the most convinced kind, for whom the gospel according to *Oxford and Working Class Education* and related documents was Holy Writ. He saw the growth in the number of sessional and shorter classes as evidence of a catastrophic decline in standards, a desertion of the principles upon which university adult education should depend. He thought the WEA was failing in its mission because the percentage of manual workers in its classes had fallen from over 20 per cent to under 20 per cent since before the war. Looking at these changes he argued that the workers for whom the WEA should cater were those who had left school at the minimum age ('the educationally under privileged') and that those who had received a better education should be provided for through University Extension arrangements. In university work the tutorial class was the model element and any watering down of the demands it made should be regarded as a kind of betrayal, although he conceded that shorter courses might be provided for people who had already undertaken substantial study in the subjects with which they dealt. The tutorial class should be conducted with rigour, making serious demands on students for written work and private study.[13]

Raybould, however, readily accepted the new phase in university education by providing courses for specialist groups. He introduced a number of diplomas and undertook courses for magistrates and the police. In connection with the police courses I became his disciple, for when I learnt of them I took the initiative in seeing that Manchester University provided them as well. A three-year tutorial class in criminology was the means with years devoted to law, to sociology and to psychology. In Manchester the results were so sensational, with several hundred applications for the 50 places on the first courses, that I felt that I had surpassed my master.

However, mighty although Raybould's efforts were with the WEA and tutorial classes, he was a bit like Canute commanding the tides to obey, for tutorial classes had set into a decline which could not be arrested. They remained a major element in the work of London and Leeds, but elsewhere universities and WEA Districts gradually gave up the effort to organise them. The change indeed applied to long courses generally and not only to tutorials, for as Gwyn Harries-Jenkins has pointed out, in 1978-80 in the 35 university departments other than London and Leeds only about two per cent of total provision was of long courses. Tutorial classes, he asserts, 'are simply a myth which has taken its place in the folk-lore of adult education'.[14]

At this point it seems useful to introduce another Oxford Report. It was called the *Report of the Committee on Extra-Mural Studies*,[15] published in March 1970. The Committee had been appointed to review aand make recommendations about the work of the University Extra-Mural Delegacy. It said that three years tutorial class was no longer appropriate to the contemporary social and educational situation. Comparing the tutorial class with the one-year sessional class it said:

> It seems to us that the three year tutorial class is appropriate where the intention is to bring students commencing at a relatively low standard of education to a good standard. We believe, however, that few of the students nowadays commence at a low standard and we believe that the progress made is largely in relation to the particular subject studied, rather than general progress in education. Where that is the case, the distinction is likely to be obscured and the three year rule seems out of date to us. There are many competing claims on leisure nowadays, and many potential members of classes must find difficulty in committing themselves for three years. The common practice in evening classes in general and such kind of activities as choirs and dramatic societies, is for members to commit themselves in the autumn for winter months and we see no reason why a longer commitment should generally be required for these classes... We recommend that the term tutorial class be used without distinction for what are now called tutorial and sessional classes, that the formal length of classes normally be one year...[16]

It is interesting to note the 1908 Report thought that workers could profit from tutorial classes because of the benefits brought by elementary education, but that by implication the 1970 Report thought that the tutorial class had been necessary because elementary education was of such a low standard.

The Report then looked into important developments of the post-war period, post-experience education and role education.

'Post-experience education' it defined as 'refresher and development courses in their own subject for graduates who are still working in their subject'; personally I would prefer to use the term 'qualified people' in place of 'graduates' since there are ways of qualifying for certain occupations other than graduation from an institution of higher education. This is a field of work in which the activities of universities rapidly increased in the fifties, in some cases through their internal departments, but mainly through their adult education departments. It represented an extension of university work into an area defined as 'adult education for the educated' [17] by Sir Richard Livingstone, the principal pioneer of the idea. By the seventies it had become an obvious area of continued expansion and as such was advocated as important by Sir Kenneth Berrill, then Chairman of the University Grants Committee, as 'money well spent'.[18]

Post-experience education represented a departure from traditional principles by university adult education departments, since obviously it is vocational in essence. It implied that the idea that adult education should be only of the liberal non-vocational kind was no longer tenable, a change that caused great hesitation in Britain, shown by the fact that the not very impressive British submission to Unesco for its 1970 World Conference on Adult Education still depended on the old beliefs. However, the change has now been generally accepted and has secured the interest of all universities, not only those with adult education departments. Many departments have been renamed 'Adult and Continuing Education' and the National Institute for Adult Education has added the adjective 'Continuing' to 'Adult Education'. Continuing education, in fact, is the idea of the age. Things move slowly in Britain. Sir Richard Livingstone was advocating it nearly fifty years ago.

The Oxford Committee Report also advocated that the University's Extra-Mural studies (or External Studies as it decided they should be renamed) should include a developing element of 'role education', defined as 'education providing a broad background of knowledge relevant to the performance of specific roles'.[19] The examples already given of education for social workers, magistrates, shop stewards, etc., were the kind of activities to which it referred. It noted that as a result of those developments the WEA District appeared to regret that it held a less central position in the work of the department than in former times. This feeling, and the situation which has given rise to it, is not confined to this particular district but it applies to relations between the universities and the WEA throughout the country. It is obviously likely to become even more pronounced as universities which were not engaged in adult education during the phase of WEA dominance begin to develop programmes of work, especially when much of their work makes no contribution to working-class advancement.

Another area in which the university departments have become more active is the provision of courses leading to certificates, diplomas and degrees by part-time study. A proposal to create a diploma for adult students was made in the 1908 Report, but this idea never found favour with the WEA. According to the ideology of liberal adult education, as it developed under WEA influence, classes should not lead to examinations. Until recently London University offered the major exception to this principle. Its external degrees, obtained through courses in other institutions or through correspondence tuition, and the work of Birkbeck College as an institution for part-time students, have long been important elements in the provision for higher education and its Extra-mural Department has offered a large and successful range of diploma courses. Oddly Birkbeck College has never been recognised as an adult education institution (although it began as the London Mechanics' Institute), a matter which must have been puzzling to North American observers of the British scene, accustomed as they have been for a long time to universities which provided part-time courses for degrees.

In the fifties and sixties a general feeling spread that universities should generally be offering courses which would lead to diplomas and certificates, but because of the pressure of tradition and the fear of opposition from within the universities action was slow in appearing. At Manchester University in the fifties a proposal to introduce diplomas and certificates was rejected by the Joint Committee for Adult Education, almost as if it was the product of improper thought. A proposal was put before the Universities Council for Adult Education that a joint body, similar to the Council for National Academic Awards, should be established to design and administer a series of diplomas and certificates, in the apparent belief that this would offer an easier procedure than attempting to persuade university governing bodies to agree to take action, but nothing came of it. No university department had any part in arranging courses leading to degrees, except the one or two for post-graduate study of adult education, until Hull broke through with a degree in psychology, first offered in 1969, with very creditable final results. While there are now more diplomas and certificates, and a few degrees, this area of activity has been slower in developing than would seem desirable.

This is important because adult education should fit the age in which it exists; as Mansbridge said, 'New times will require new methods'.[20] Since the Second World War we have had 'Secondary education for All' introduced by the 1944 Education Act and a vast expansion in higher education. The 1908 Committee, as already remarked, did not consider the consequences of the 1902 Education Act and based its expectations on the effects of the national system of elementary education. In addition, since adult education has always been expected to provide for the disadvantaged, it has been desirable to help those whose chief disadvantage has been they were born too soon, that is before the better opportunities for secondary and higher education had been introduced. In the Scandinavian countries, in fact, some of the most important recent developments in adult education have resulted from action to meet this situation; 'qualifying education' it is called in Denmark and it means that older people should be given opportunity to work for examinations which are taken by younger people still in full-time education.

The same principle was used to justify the creation of a 'University of the Air', the idea which ended as the Open University, when it was put forward by Harold Wilson; he said that it would give those people who had not had it at an early age in life the opportunity to work for a university degree. The other argument he used, that it would increase the supply of trained manpower, was to emphasise its value to the nation. Obviously the principle would have been stupid and the practical advantage negligible if the number of people capable of gaining a creditable degree had been small. The success of the Open University has been evidence of the progress made under the Education Acts of 1902, 1918 and 1944. Adult education, in fact, after the Second World War, operated in an age very different from 1908 and *Oxford and Working-Class Education*, although a milestone in the history of adult education, has only retained significance in that it had asked for an increase of opportunity for university studies which was never achieved. Although an Oxford graduate Wilson was probably unaware that his arguments pointed in the same direction as those of his less influential predecessors.

Nowadays a degree is not the educational hall mark that it was in 1908. Plenty of young people from working-class homes achieve them every year and there is now a considerable number of working-class and lower-middle-class people who have gained one through the Open University. A degree, in fact, may be regarded as a normal ambition for anyone, irrespective of social class, although it should be added that a helpful kind of social and educational background makes it more attainable for some people than others. The effect of this position on the working class has been considerable and many who might, in an earlier generation, have had to depend for such higher education that they received on bodies like the WEA and NCLC now proceed through school along the customary path to a university or a polytechnic. The WEA students of the first thirty years of its classes were the type of people likely to want their children to make use of such educational opportunities as were available. From what I know of them by observation and reputation I can say this has been so. I can offer evidence that is more certain for the NCLC for some years ago a candidate for a higher degree who had written a thesis on the NCLC in South Lancashire, herself the daughter of one of the pioneers, told me that the NCLC had lost many potential leaders because the children of the first generation of NCLC voluntary workers had continued their full-time education to universities and other institutions of higher education and had been lost to the NCLC as a consequence.

As higher education it has to be said that the WEA classes (tutorial or otherwise) or NCLC classes were unsatisfactory replacements for the real thing. So too, for that matter, were courses leading to the diplomas of the Extra-mural Department of the University of London, although they were better. The most appropriate adult education institution for this age is the Open University. This is so, however, because the other universities failed to provide opportunity to work for their degrees by part-time study. If the proposals of *Oxford and Working-Class Education* had been fully accepted, leading to a substantial opening of Oxford (and presumably other universities) to adult students to undertake full-time study, this situation would have been met. But the universities were tied to the idea that their overwhelmingly important function was the education of the young and that if adults had any place in them as full-time students it should only be a small one. A new institution designed explicitly for adults was the new method, to use Mansbridge's term, that the age required. In the United States where the provision of part-time courses leading to degrees became the widespread practice of universities long ago, the problem did not exist. Probably if British universities had been similarly flexible the new institution in Britain would not have been a university awarding degrees, but one under some other name offering opportunity for study at a lower level, a need which some critics of the Open University say needs to be met.

Although my arguments so far may have suggested that I doubt if *Oxford and Working-Class Education* was right in its assessment of the needs which an expanded provision of university adult education should aim at satisfying, I believe that what may be called 'working-class education' requires serious effort and that there is a good future for liberal adult education.

But, 'working-class education' still remains a puzzling concept since the difficulty of deciding for whom it should be designed has become greater rather than less. The report of a WEA Working Party some years ago[21] pointed out that a high proportion of men in top management positions had received only an elementary school education and that it 'can never be assumed that a high social status ensures an extended educational background'. Further, printers and policemen earn incomes higher than teachers; the dockworkers who invited me to Christmas lunch some years ago talked mainly about cars and continental holidays (they also saw no use in the Open University for their educational needs); and the unemployed now consist of professional workers and graduates as well as manual workers who have had only a minimum education. However, if we exclude all those whose pay is good and are in enjoyment of what may be called middle-class standards, there is still a large section of the population receiving low wages if they are in work, or living on social security if they are not, and they have educational needs related to the condition under which they live.

The special effort which has been made to cater for them has been through Community Education which is the subject of another contribution to this volume. The WEA has worked successfully in this field for a good number of years and so too have some universities and other agencies. There is a growing body of useful literature on the subject. The WEA has also played a substantial part in trade union education, which assumed many forms unimagined by the authors of *Oxford and Working-Class Education*. It has discovered that most of the trade unionists who have taken advantage of its possibilities have never attended ordinary adult education courses. In these fields the WEA has fulfilled its historic function providing adult education for social groups previously untouched by it.

But the WEA has lost its central position in adult education; the tutorial class is not the honoured instrument of enlightenment it used to be; and the question arises whether the WEA has a future and, if so, what kind of future will it be?

In my own experience as a WEA student, now long ago and compressed into a few years, I found that it provided for a varied educational and social activity, with week-end schools, day schools, summer schools, rambles, social evenings, a playgoers club and activities which may be described as arising simply from personal friendships, in addition to the tutorial and one-year classes I attended. Further, in my subsequent experience as a tutor one of the best classes I took was not a tutorial, or sessional, but a WEA one-year class; I am still in touch with some of its members although it belongs to nearly fifty years ago.

The point this further bit of personal experience is intended to introduce is that the WEA is not dependent on its connection with the universities in the way it used to be. Tutorial classes might have been the brightest jewels in the WEA's crown, but there had to be a crown from which they could shine. My opinion on this matter was greatly strengthened some years ago when I wrote a short history of the Yorkshire North District of the WEA.[22] I found a whole host of cultural and educational activities which the District and its branches had undertaken that would have justified its existence even if tutorial classes had never been invented and it seems to me that as a voluntary association it is better placed to undertake this kind of activity than other providers of adult education services like universities or local education authorities.

I should like also to float a question about the WEA. In 1908 it was a new organisation, with little experience arranging classes. Therefore its connection with the universities was necessary to help it to operate educationally along the right lines. Now it is seventy years old with a vast experience of educational activity behind it. Why should it not have full responsibility for its advanced work? If it did, the chief danger would be of possible competition between its classes and those of the universities. Once, when I was working for Manchester University, this happened with a WEA class and an Extension course on astronomy. Investigation of the situation, however, revealed that none of the students in the WEA class had heard of the Extension course and only two Extension course students had heard of the WEA class. Perhaps with the better publicity which is now operative this happy state of ignorance would no longer be possible, but there were enough students for the two classes and it is possible to have arrangements for co-operation and consultation without the state of partial dependency which the university provision of certain types of classes has caused so far for the WEA.

Finally, I do not see that we need to worry unduly about liberal adult education. The fact that people now pay fees that have been increased over the last fifteen years to an extent far exceeding the rate of inflation proves that it has passed one of its most convincing tests – that people are prepared to pay a good price for it. The fact that some commercial undertakings, like hotel groups, find it profitable to offer what are in fact adult education week-ends and public schools to offer summer schools is supporting evidence. In fact there is a strong consumer demand for certain kinds of adult education. Up to a point we are living in the long heralded learning society. The weakness of this society, however, is that it wants only certain educational goods and not the full range.

The authors of the 1908 Report had no doubt that they were proposing an extension of adult education for an important political end, the creation of a better educated working class and therefore a better democracy. The respect in which I would change this is to say it is not only the working class which needs to be politically better educated, but all classes. At their best liberal adult education classes have been a modest success as a means of political and social education, since too few people have attended them. In the post Second World War period the big success in education for the labour movement has been through the day release courses for trade unionists and in my experience it has been virtually impossible to run similar courses as liberal education classes. The London University Extra-Mural Department has achieved great success with its Diploma in Social Studies but this belongs to its Extension course arrangements and not its tutorial classes. In Hull we struggled to keep a small tutorial class in sociology going; when we abandoned it we offered instead a course leading to a certificate, with the promise of a diploma for advanced study beyond, and the number of students increased tenfold. The Open University has had many graduates in the social sciences. In other words there is plenty of interest in social and political studies in adult education but not through traditional tutorial or sessional classes. 'Other times, other methods' said Mansbridge and adult educators need to be permanently aware of the need for inventiveness and adaptability.

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The Cost and Value of Higher Education to Working-class Women

Jane L. Thompson

There is not much of significance in the 1908 Report for working-class women. A lot of mention is given to the concerns of men and, whilst we may choose to interpret the reference to 'work people' as also including women, there is little evidence that the political, economic and social concerns of women were given much consideration by those who produced the report. Not that many women – let alone working-class women – could expect to become university students in 1908. The campaigns of the early feminists had gone some way to opening up the universities and some of the professions to middle-class women but the conditions placed upon their participation and survival were enormous; and although some Oxford colleges were taking women undergraduates in 1908, they were not giving them degrees until 1927.

The demand for education from working-class women was – as it is now – even more difficult. In the day-to-day struggle for economic survival – set in the context of arduous and interminable physical labour – the opportunities for educational pursuits were limited. In the nineteenth century most of what was provided 'officially' in mechanics institutes and working-men's colleges – which, despite their male identified names did provide classes for women – was heavily influenced by restricted views of women's 'natural' predilection for domestic labour. It was only really in separatist organisations like the Women's Cooperative Guilds, The Suffrage Movement and the early women's trade unions that women's own definitions of 'really useful knowledge' [1] were allowed to surface. In these organisations working-class women became skilled in political organising and campaigning and constructed educational programmes for themselves which did justice to the realities of the social and economic conditions in which they lived. It's interesting to remember that in all of these organisations working-class women met major opposition from their fellow men, who did not respond at all well to women taking political action on their own or, more importantly, stepping outside their traditional and allotted roles. And whilst women made up a considerable proportion of the emergent Workers'

Educational Association, passing the kinds of resolutions about child care provision at courses, women-only classes and relevant curriculum which sound all too familiar today, the official historical voice of the movement has remained obsessively male.

It always strikes me that if an alien from another planet was ever motivated to research and understand the political, social and cultural history of the working class in Britain, this one fact before all others would be obvious. It is an account of a tradition, of a condition, of a vision, which is almost exclusively male. It's a fact which escapes almost everyone else, however. The working-class are written about and talk about themselves (those who are asked) as if women don't exist. Or as if the issues and experiences which characterise women's lives can be subsumed neatly within the general categories applied to the class as a whole. The notion is that what is good for or bad for the working class is experienced similarly by both sexes. But when looked at from the standpoint of women this is clearly not the case. For example, working-class women could justifiably object to the united efforts of employers and trade unionists historically to downgrade and de-skill women's work and to reinforce women's economic dependency on men by the creation of the 'family wage' and its payment to male breadwinners. And so long as the responsibility for child care, for example, is not seen as a central and fundamental issue in discussions to do with the distribution of paid work and wages, then the very real restrictions imposed on women as workers are not being taken seriously, or even into account, in some of the major economic decisions of the day. Working-class men – just as much as their middle-class masters – benefit enormously from women's unpaid domestic labour at home and however strong their resistance to the bosses might be, their resistance rarely extends to hatred of the bosses' system which operates on the basis of patriarchy just as surely as it does on capitalism and racism.

The re-examination of the concept working class, viewed from the perspective of women's experiences, is not the major concern of this chapter however – except to draw readers' attention to the ease with which women's experiences get subsumed within male experience to the extent that they become invisible.[2] This tendency rooted in patriarchal power as a world view is arguably just as common today as it was in 1908. A similar group of working-class and liberal men meeting to debate some contemporary issue in adult education would do so in much the same vein as their fathers did before them. Except, of course, that now there would be less excuse for their ignorance.

The writers of the 1908 Report were preoccupied with two concerns –

that working men should have access to the excellence of Oxford and that Oxford should have access to the hearts and minds of working men. Neither side envisaged the radical transformation of education or society as a consequence although they were intent upon achieving some modification and shift in the social class divide.

The working men who contributed to the writing of the Oxford Report were principally concerned that the alleged excellence of university education should be more widely available and that the rarified and privileged colleges of Oxbridge should be opened up – democratised and re-constituted to make room for the working-class. Education should concentrate on politically and socially useful knowledge and those chosen and enabled to study should be encouraged to return to the service of their class as trade union officials, labour representatives and teachers. Except for a few notable exceptions, however, the older universities, especially Oxford and Cambridge, have remained as training grounds for the rich and influential. Possibly the numbers of Labour MPs who have been educated there has increased over the years – but this is more a reflection of changes in the class composition of the Labour Party than the penetration of elite institutions by working-class students. And so far as working-class women are concerned, the numbers entering any form of higher education has remained consistently insignificant. It's not really surprising when you think about it. Universities were founded for the sons of white upper and middle-class men to help reproduce and consolidate their influence and power. Women were admitted reluctantly at the end of the nineteenth century and still constitute a major minority of the students in scientific and technical subjects and of the post-graduates in all subjects. The control, administration and teaching in our universities, polytechnics and colleges of higher education is still a predominantly male preserve. Women are enormously outnumbered at every level of teaching and policy-making in higher education and our influence has been minimal in terms of challenging or transforming the definitions of knowledge and learning which these institutions reflect.

Women who enter higher education do so principally to learn more about men – about male ideas – and about male ways of doing things. It's not usual to classify higher education as men's education although the description is a useful one.[3] Centuries of philosophy and selection have gone into the creation of what counts as important knowledge. Notions of reason and logic and objectivity have been constructed to obscure the extent to which what emerges is a reflection of male experience and male priorities. It is unlikely to be otherwise so long as women's experiences of the world – our ideas and achievements and struggles, our priorities and allegiances – remain largely unrecorded by the men who have had the power historically to decide what is considered important.

Although studies in the sociology of knowledge have come to similar conclusions about the effects of social class and race on the construction and transmission of what constitutes knowledge, less attention has been paid – except by feminists – to the influences of patriarchal authority in the process of defining ideas and recording experience. So far as feminist thinkers are concerned, that which counts as education reflects a partial though powerful view of reality: a view which pays little or no attention to the historical, political and cultural concerns of women or which makes reference to women only in the context of a range of ideologies based on notions of male supremacy.[4]

When the authors of the 1908 Report attributed great significance to the quality of education available at Oxford it was a masculine excellence which they were talking about. But then it was also men whom they imagined would be the recipients. If they were unaware of sexual bias, they were more conscious that elitism and class privilege could cause the kinds of prejudice and assumptions in teachers and fellow students which would be unconducive to the participation of working-class people. The solution to this problem was seen in terms of securing some kind of control over who would be allowed to teach and some consultation about what curriculum would be considered relevant. They were wise to be suspicious. Exactly the same reservations should be expressed today in relation to women's education. Access to institutions of higher education in which the majority of teachers are men, in which the curriculum is an historic reflection of men's ideas and concerns and in which the values, attitudes and assumptions which predominate are patriarchal, is a poor consolation for women.

The Report writers were naive to imagine that they could exercise some control over all this on behalf of working-class students, however. Those who are dominant in our culture are unlikely to concede their predominance to others whose political interests are not consistent with their own. The control and dissemination of ideas and the selection of those who will be given access to them is a major political strategy in the preservation of power by the ruling class. It is unlikely to be given up easily. Those from the working-class who have been allowed to learn these lessons have done so as individuals not as a class – and with the intention of enlisting them as allies or 'responsible citizens' – which is probably the same thing.

The Report writers were also naive to put so much faith in the 'good intention' of education and educationalists. Education is not a neutral or a dispassionate pursuit of truth or excellence. It is part of the logic and order of the prevailing system, a system which is not renowned for its commitment to the transformation of class society. A limited transfusion of brains and energy from working-class sources has the double attraction to the ruling class of co-opting possible adversaries and utilising their abilities and of demonstrating an openness and accessibility to opportunity which makes it seem that working-class inequality is not the social institution which socialists and other critics suppose it to be. In practice, of course, there has been no major redistribution of power in the control and management of education and ideas since the 1908 Report was written. The means of communication and shift in emphasis towards popular and mass media may well have changed the style and the presentation of the message over the years, but those in control of the dominant culture come from much the same political and social groups, with the same interests to defend, as they always did.

Women should learn from this experience. Access to institutions on an individual basis to satisfy individual ambitions is unlikely either to transform those institutions' perceptions of themselves and the values they promote or to encourage changes that will contribute to the political advantage of women generally. Women should be wary of attributing liberationary intentions to an education system based on both class and patriarchal privileges. It is a common misconception that education is an enlightening endeavour which can change attitudes and encourage reform – especially in matters to do with sexual prejudice and discrimination.[5] But the education system is the creation of sexual prejudice and discrimination which so long as it continues to reflect male concerns and is kept under the control of men[6] will remain an unlikely ally in the pursuit of women's liberation.[7]

To suggest that working-class people cannot use the skills of learning, thinking and argument to assist them in their resistance to class oppression and in the pursuit of social change is clearly untrue, however. The capacity to analyse and conceptualise clearly and to generate knowledge which is useful in a political and social sense are two of the traditional concerns of working-class radicals. Perhaps we should not judge the authors of the 1908 Report too harshly for their misplaced trust in the good faith of the universities like Oxford to respond to their demands except that others of their contemporaries were more astute in their assessment of class allegiance and put their energies elsewhere.[8]

So far as working-class women are concerned, the opportunities to participate in adult and higher education have not expanded significantly since 1908. Much of what is currently provided in local authority provision, community education and adult basic education continues with the same oppressive assumptions about women's limitations and deficiencies that have always characterised the mass education of working-class women,[9] whilst participation in higher education, for the most part, implies enormous personal costs which are rarely publicised or acknowledged by the institutions involved.

The mid-1980s are not a hopeful or inspiring time for women generally – especially working-class women. For a brief period in the late sixties and early seventies, when the economy was expanding, the numbers of women entering the workforce and the trade union movement increased. Progressive ideas in education attributed great signficance to the spread of comprehensive education and co-education in schools and to the expansion and democratisation of higher education. The United Nations Decade for Women began in Britain with the passing of Equal Pay and Anti-Sex Discrimination legislation and generally more enlightened attitudes about women's rights became the proclaimed concern of every self-respecting liberal. Women's Liberation provided a rich resource for trivialisation by the media, but there was a sense in which, if women's demands were not too extreme, and were easily satisfied by a few minor modifications in the administration of sexual discrimination, then the liberal-socialist establishment would be happy to make the appropriate gestures.

Ten years later, however, the picture is very different. Women are back in the trenches under siege. The expansion of women's jobs in the welfare and service industries has been severely cut back by successive governments' economic policies. Part-time women workers have been laid off more quickly and more assiduously than any other group of workers – most of them with no recourse to unemployment benefit. The services which once assisted families in the care of children and dependent relatives – services which women in the seventies were paid to provide – have now largely disappeared leaving unpaid women at home with the main responsibility for 'community care'. For working-class families particularly, the economic depression of the eighties has returned enormous numbers of people to the poverty and insecurity of the thirties. Today increasing numbers of women face the consequences of this on their own as the state-dependent leaders of single parent families. Whatever anger or outrage the all-but-defeated Labour Movement can generate on behalf of the unemployed and on the loss and destruction of their jobs is reserved for men and young people. The popular image of unemployment is one of men wasting their time at home or rioting on the streets and football terraces. The socialist view is of men stripped of their dignity and robbed of their inheritance. The extent of women's poverty and response to unemployment remains an enigma – hidden behind the home front where lack of money, lack of power and lack of hope accentuate the struggles which have always occurred there between unequals. The law calls them 'domestic disputes' and is reluctant to get involved. Women call them bullying and intimidation, GBH, sexual abuse and murder. In other circumstances – on the streets or the football terraces for example – they would be called civil war.

The legacy of enlightenment of the seventies means that it is still politically unacceptable for governments, employers and trade unions to say explicitly that women should stay home and give their jobs to men, but there is little question that the increase in unemployment has been paralleled by an intensification of family-centred propaganda which seeks to hold women personally responsible for the mental and social health of men and children unsettled by insecurity, poverty and lack of prospects – as well as urging the retreat from feminist ideas about autonomy and equality.

The majority of working-class women, because of the association of feminism with middle-class behaviour and impossible dreams, are unlikely to call themselves feminists in fact. But this doesn't mean that they are complacent about the injustices of life. Beatrix Campbell[10] argues very convincingly that it is working-class women, rather than men, who are the true radicals – despite the adulation which is usually reserved by the Left for working-class heroes. And although powerless in most respects and dependent on men or the state economically, it would be wrong to see working-class women simply as the victims of oppression. Rather they are the survivors, the ones whose resilience historically has kept families and communities together – women who have gritted their teeth and endured and picked their way courageously through the blood and guts and mess that men leave behind. Most working-class women both accept and resent the power of men in their lives. Their presence seems inevitable – at times it brings happiness – often it's just the way things are. But women also know, what their mothers and sisters have always understood, that it is not men but other women – family, friends and workmates – who provide the life-sustaining relationships which keep us all going. I have yet to see any serious validation given to the support which women give to each other in working-class communities which recognises it as a political affiliation – a movement. It is more common to associate what counts as politics with the labour movement – a movement which men have created and within which men meet to decide priorities and strategies. Sited in the Labour Party, the trade unions and the working men's clubs, the participation of women has always been peripheral and subsidiary – though not for the want of trying. This – what Beatrix Campbell calls the 'Men's movement' – which earlier radicals might well have looked to for inspiration and leadership in the defence of working-class interests – is currently in disarray. The incoherence of the left, the divisions between different groups and tendencies and the ever-increasing slide towards the politics of appeasement and the middle ground has left a void which accentuates the hopelessness of contemporary class struggle. Working-class women might do better to put their faith in feminism – albeit a feminism rooted in working-class experience and realities – which would at least begin with some understanding of the ways in which class, race and gender inequalities intersect to the multiple detriment of women and which could identify priorities from the standpoint of women which usually go unnoticed or ill-considered by those who most often speak for the working-class.

It is precisely this starting point – the interplay between class and gender oppression – which has informed the women's education programme in Southampton for the last seven or eight years. It is not a programme which is particularly well received by the university[11] nor is it principally concerned with the preparation of working-class students for higher education. But over the years a goodly number of working-class women, with minimum schooling and no formal qualifications, have chosen to go on to higher education once their course with us is completed.

It would be wrong of me to suggest that this choice is misconceived. With the fewest of options available to working-class women generally and with only limited choices in terms of occupation and lifestyle, anything which helps to widen those limitations must be welcomed. Although qualifications do not provide an automatic route to economic independence they can, in some circumstances, make a difference. I have known women for whom the experience of higher education has been a good one – who have flourished intellectually and who have claimed the right, still so frequently monopolised by another class and another sex, to be academics – women who, on behalf of others, have established their right of entry – as proper students – into institutions which other women of their class are usually only allowed to cook for or clean. I suppose there is a long established argument in socialist politics – which also influenced the writers of the 1908 Report – which is that working-class people have just as much right to enjoy 'the best' as anyone else. If I sound sceptical about all of this, it is because I have yet to be convinced that what higher education represents is the best, or that the price which working-class women pay to have a taste of it is worth the cost.

I suppose I am more pleased to report that the radical expectation that workers will not merely use higher education for personal advancement, but as a way of gaining useful knowledge and skills which they can then use to work with, and on behalf of, other members of their class, has been a common commitment among women I have known. Two of the teachers on our current Second Chance for Women programme, for example, were originally students on the same scheme and a fair number of others have returned after graduation, to work in legal and advice centres, in community and social work and in women's projects of various kinds. For those whose commitment to class rather than loyalty to the state is strong, the workplace is often a keen site of struggle. But it is not higher education that has made the difference – it is their politics and their allegiance which is the crucial connection. For every woman who has flourished in the company of middle-class ideas and values and at the hands of predominantly middle-class men, however, there have been many others – the majority I would say – who have had at best a mixed experience and at worst a very distressing time.

Most obviously there are the problems to do with the curriculum of higher education: the reality, as a working-class woman, of feeling totally submerged in a sea of attitudes, ideas, factual information and assumptions, built around a middle-class male view of the world which has changed only slightly, it would seem, since I was at university myself 20 years ago. When I look at the eight long rows of books in my study, gathering dust now because I don't read them any more, which are the legacy of my university days and early teaching career, books which represent the significant arguments and ideas in education, history, sociology, politics and literary criticism I can find only two – one by Simone de Beauvoir and one by Virginia Woolf – written by women. The same books in virtually the same proportions still appear on the reading lists my current ex-students show me. It is not only the official curriculum, though, but also the hidden curriculum, which operates as an assault on the condition and concerns of working-class women. Sexist jokes are common, women-hating thinly disguised as academic argument is rife, sexual harassment is usual. Men monopolise discussions, discuss and trivialise women's contributions, share jokes and allegiances with other men at women's expense and in just the same way as Spender[12] observed in schools, become troublesome and aggressive if they and their concerns are not treated as central in the educational exchange. In my own experience women staff frequently come in for the same kind of treatment both in private, in staff meetings and academic boards and in the classroom – women are taken much less seriously, challenged more aggressively and we are made to feel we should work a whole lot harder than our male counterparts to demonstrate our right to intrude upon the territory of men. Academic machismo at its worst is just a more rarified variety of the competitiveness, bravado and bullying which typifies men's behaviour generally. Directed at women it has the effect of keeping us out of the labour movement, out of the pubs and clubs and off the streets. In higher education it contributes a number of the messages which might also lead us to suppose that, here too, our presence is unwelcome.

Institutions of higher education make few concessions to mature students and even less to mothers. Creche and nursery provisions are limited and expensive and do nothing to solve the problem of school age children after school, children who are off school sick, or in half-terms and holidays. Lectures, tutorials and seminars are arranged to suit the logic of the timetable and the convenience of the institution, rather than the domestic responsibilities of the students. Women students, if they are married, need their husbands' signature (in loco parentis!) on grant application forms, whilst single parents can be asked to prove that their dependent children are legitimate before they can be counted for grant assessment. Women who go into higher education without formal qualifications are reliant upon discretionary grants. At least two students of ours have been refused grants for the first year of university degree courses – effectively preventing their participation – because they have already completed 13 weeks TOPS courses. One woman, who had to retake her final examinations, was threatened with court action if she didn't repay her final year's grant. She had spent three years supplementing its meagre provision by part-time factory work in the evenings – writing her essays in the early hours of the morning and often existing on only two or three hours of sleep at night. To avoid the retribution of the courts she was forced to put her child into care so that she could work full-time to pay off the debt to the local authority. Another woman, after two terms of continuing struggle with staff and fellow-students on a pre-degree course who made jokes about battered women and poverty and feminism, and in which the general logic of the curriculum seemed to require them to learn, among other things, the Russian language as well as 400 years of European history and the main principles of surveying, gave up, feeling that she was both the wrong sex and the wrong class and in the wrong place. Since her husband had to be threatened with divorce proceedings by a solicitor's letter if he didn't sign the grant form in the first place, he took great delight in refusing to pay it back when she too was threatened with legal action. She borrowed the money from her mother.

Of course institutions of higher education will claim that the vagaries of grant provision are nothing to do with them and that any deficiencies are the responsibility of the local authorities. Looked at from the standpoint of working-class women, however, the discretionary and punitive way in which limited financial assistance is provided represents just another mechanism in the apparatus of control which makes their presence in the system feel precarious.

Recently a tutor on the social work course at Southampton University advised women on Second Chance not to bother applying to be social workers unless they could prove to him at the interview that they had enough money to pay for 24-hour child care and no domestic problems which were likely to interfere with their studies. He commented, somewhat flippantly, that a husband earning £35,000 a year would help enormously.

In almost every other respect women who embark on courses without men fare better than those who have to square what they're doing with husbands or lovers. Men who re-enter education as mature students probably need to make some adjustments too, but it is unlikely that their initiative is seen as anything other than important by their wives and children. Working-class women's return to education – if it is tolerated at all – is only usually condoned if nothing noticeable changes at home. Women still retain the major responsibility for child care and domestic work and often feel they have to 'do it even better' so that their absence at college doesn't become a major source of grievance. This means that academic work has to be fitted in after domestic responsibilities have been seen to be done – in practice late at night or in the early hours of the morning. However, grievances are common – mostly to do with men feeling threatened by the prospect of their wives outstripping them. One woman had also to fix up an interview at the polytechnic for her husband to do a course, so that he could be persuaded to agree to her application. The matter wasn't so easily resolved, however, since she was accepted and he wasn't. He then began a relentless campaign of obstruction and resistance until she was finally persuaded to give up. Another began an OU degree so that he could have the same letters after his name as his wife. Another started applying for jobs in other parts of the country as soon as she was accepted and he has now succeeded in removing her from the source of his anxiety. Another – unable to believe that his wife is doing something for herself, or being taken seriously as a student – is convinced that she is having an affair and has persisted in following her about and questioning her about her movements. And these are not the men who burn books and tear up essays and threaten physical violence – although there are plenty of examples of them too.

In my experience the extent of academic understanding about the struggles women have at home to even arrive in the classroom – or any recognition that most of them will have done a half a day's work at least before they come in the morning – is about as informed as a night at the movies watching 'Educating Rita' might be expected to make clear. The personal tutor role, whilst being a responsibility which some take seriously, is far too often viewed as an apology for good tutor-student relationships and is not at all seen as a priority by most teaching staff. Mature women students very quickly learn that their personal problems are their own business and that they are irrelevant to the academic exchange. They should be endured or resolved elsewhere. It would be comforting to present a picture of working-class women highly attuned to the gross insensitivity, ignorance and complacency about all of this, which is typical of higher education, and taking on the prejudices, campaigning for changes and battling their way through to some kind of political achievement. And of course some women do, on their own often, overcoming considerable obstacles and without a lot of support from their nearest and dearest. They register their objection to the attitudes and values which they encounter. They get punished for it too, by being publicly ridiculed often or having their work dismissed as polemics. It's all part of the shaping up and dressing down that goes on in the process of incorporation.

You might want to believe that their experiences on Second Chance prepare them spiritually and politically for the battle. Sometimes it helps in terms of validating their outrage and being there to pick up the pieces as they get systematically smashed into submission. But Second Chance itself – a thirty week course spread over a year – a mere 120 hours to change a lifetime – with resources for 60 women that are less than the cost of putting one public school boy through a year at Winchester College – and in a social and a political climate which is not conducive to women stepping out of line, has an enormous – some would say impossible – balance to redress. The fact that any women at all gain courage and strength and the will to make changes is remarkable – but they do. Victories for women are achieved despite the education system not because of it. For many others the confidence to attribute blame to the system rather than deficiency to themselves has been obliterated by a lifetime of learning to turn anger inwards and not to expect very much for themselves. The experience of learning together with other working-class women on Second Chance, and in an atmosphere which is woman-centred and woman-positive and in which shared experiences of oppression take on a political dimension, can produce a different kind of analysis and a different kind of response. But studying on your own, in the very midst of the patriarchy, with centuries of tradition and privilege and powers to lend authority – it is enormously difficult to feel anything other than overwhelmed. In these circumstances it is more common to attribute learning difficulties to personal inadequacies rather than bad teaching. It is easier to turn a blind eye to sexist innuendo than speak out against it. It is more comfortable to keep your head down than to deliver it on a silver platter to the enemy. The reward for good behaviour might be a degree – which might secure a job – which might bring economic independence – which might make a difference. It might then be possible to think of working for other women. More likely, the institution will have achieved its intention of incorporating a few more potential rebels and distracting them from their rebellious ideas as an example to the rest. Or even more likely, women will return to exactly the same kinds of low-paid, insecure jobs which they did before, feeling a failure because they have not achieved more and dissatisfied because they have been led to expect it.

With the odds stacked against them from the start it takes considerably more than a degree in sociology or cultural studies for working-class women to change their world – let alone anybody else's.

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2. The other essays in this collection are a further illustration of this point.
3. See Dale Spender, *Invisible Women: the Schooling Scandal*, Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, 1982 who uses the term about schooling. It can usefully be applied to the education system generally.
4. See Spender *ibid.* and also Dale Spender (ed.) *Men's Studies Modified*, Pergamon Press, 1981.
5. It is comforting and usual in everyday discussions to attach great hope to the process of education as a way of changing attitudes and outdated behaviour patterns. There is no evidence that the education system in itself can change society however.
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Oxford and Working-class Education

BEING THE REPORT OF A JOINT COMMITTEE OF
UNIVERSITY AND WORKING-CLASS REPRESENTATIVES
ON THE RELATION OF THE UNIVERSITY TO
THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF
WORKPEOPLE

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PREFACE
TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE second edition has been brought up to date on matters of fact and embodies a few alterations and some additions, principally in the lists of books.

The seven months which have elapsed since the publication of the first edition have done much to confirm the hopes then entertained. The eight classes working under the Tutorial Classes Committee show a uniformly satisfactory record. Moreover, as we had hoped and anticipated, the other English Universities are continuing the work they had already done in this direction, and their activities are developing on the lines suggested in the Report. It is hardly necessary for us to express our cordial sympathy with their action and our desire to co-operate with them, and to secure their co-operation, in meeting the increasing demand among workpeople for higher education.

The reception of the Report by almost every section of English opinion has been so satisfactory that we feel justified in hoping that work of the character described in it may soon be regarded as part of the permanent educational machinery of the country.

OXFORD, *August*, 1909

NOTE

WE are glad to be able to report that the following steps have already been taken by the University to carry out the recommendations made below :—

(1) A Statute was passed through the Convocation of the University on October 27, empowering the Extension Delegacy to form a Committee consisting of working-class representatives in equal numbers with members of the Delegacy.

(2) At a meeting of the Extension Delegacy on October 30 such a Committee was established, in accordance with the Statute.

Tutorial Classes are being held under the new Committee at the following places :—

Chesterfield.
Glossop.
Littleborough.
Longton.
Oldham.
Rochdale.
Swindon.
Wrexham.

(3) The Committee for Economics has agreed to the resolution as to the admission of Tutorial Class students to the Diploma course expressed in § 132 below.

(4) The Committee for Economics, acting on the suggestion made in § 133 below, has passed a resolution in favour of the inclusion of Political Science in the Diploma course for

Economics, and has appointed a sub-committee to draft a scheme.[1]

(5) The Trustees of the University Appeal Fund have approached the University with a view to the establishment of a Lecturership in Political Theory and Institutions.

NOTE.—*The Tutorial Classes are of course open to women upon the same terms as to men; there are several women students in the classes now at work. It is intended that the whole scheme shall benefit the education of working women as much as the education of working men. It would be within the province of the Tutorial Classes Committee to consider any further steps with regard to the education of working women which may from time to time appear desirable.*

It should also be kept clearly in mind that the Committee has not dealt with the passage of boys from Primary schools to the University, holding this question, although at least of equal importance, to be outside its reference.

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[1] A Statute extending the subjects under the supervision of the Committee for Economics so as to include associated branches of Political Science was passed through Convocation on February 23, 1909, and the regulations for the new course in Political Science have since been published.

PREFACE

AT a conference of working-class and educational organizations, held in the Examination Schools at Oxford on August 10, 1907, under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association, the following resolution, moved by Mr. Walter Nield, President of the North-Western Co-operative Educational Committees' Association, and seconded by Mr. Sidney Ball, Fellow and Senior Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford,[1] was passed :—

> 'That this National Conference, consisting of working-class and educational organizations, affirming the growing desire on the part of workpeople for Higher Education, and anxious for the further co-operation of Oxford in the systematic teaching of historical, economic, and other liberal subjects, approves the formation of a Committee of seven persons nominated by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and seven persons nominated by the Executive of the Workers' Educational Association, with instructions to report before Easter next to the organizations here represented, as to the best means of carrying into effect the suggestions made in the two papers read before the Conference.'

In pursuance of this resolution, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford appointed the following persons to represent the University of Oxford upon the Committee moved for at the Conference :—

1. Thomas Banks Strong, Doctor of Divinity; Dean of Christ Church; Chairman of the Delegacy for the Extension of Teaching beyond the limits of the University.

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[1] The papers read by Mr. Nield and Mr. Ball have been printed and can be obtained from the Secretaries of the Tutorial Classes Committee, Queen's College, Oxford, 4*d*. post free.

2. Herbert Hall Turner, Fellow of the Royal Society; Doctor of Science; Savilian Professor of Astronomy; and Fellow of New College.
3. Arthur Lionel Smith, Master of Arts; Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College.
4. Sidney Ball, Master of Arts; Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College.
5. John Arthur Ransome Marriott, Master of Arts of New College; Lecturer at Worcester College; Secretary to the Delegates for the Extension of University Teaching.
6. Hastings Bertrand Lees Smith, Master of Arts of Queen's College; Professor of Public Administration and Economics at University College, Bristol; Chairman of the Executive Committee of Ruskin College.
7. Alfred Eckhard Zimmern, Master of Arts; Fellow and Tutor of New College.

The following persons were nominated through the Executive of the Workers' Educational Association:—

1. W. H. Berry, Assistant Secretary of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, representing the Educational Committee of the Co-operative Union, Ltd.
2. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary of the London Society of Compositors, representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress.
3. Richardson Campbell, F.S.S., High Secretary of the Independent Order of Rechabites; Ex-President of the National Conference of Friendly Societies; representing the National Conference of Friendly Societies.
4. J. M. Mactavish, Labour member of the Portsmouth Town Council.
5. Albert Mansbridge, General Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association; member of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education.

6. David James Shackleton, M.P., Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress; member of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education; Secretary of the Northern Counties Weavers' Association; Ex-Chairman of the Labour Party; representing the Parliamentary Committee or the Trades Union Congress.

7. Alfred Wilkinson, Labour member of the Rochdale Town Council.

The Committee thus constituted has held five sittings, of one or more days, in Oxford between Christmas, 1907, and October, 1908. At its first meeting on December 27, 1907, the Dean of Christ Church was elected Chairman, Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., Vice-Chairman, and Mr. A. E. Zimmern and Mr. Albert Mansbridge Joint-Secretaries. For the better dispatch of some of its detailed business the Committee appointed two sub-committees—one to deal with financial and administrative questions and the other with courses of study. The members of the Finance Sub-Committee were the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, and Secretaries, together with Mr. Berry, Mr. Bowerman, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Marriott, and Professor Turner; of the Curricula Sub-Committee the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Secretaries, Mr. Ball, Mr. Lees Smith, Mr. Mactavish, Mr. A. L. Smith, and Mr. Wilkinson. The information collected and the courses drawn up by these sub-committees are contained in the Appendices to this volume.

We regret that we were unable to present our full report before Easter, 1908, as instructed by the Conference held on August 10, 1907. But the matters which came under our notice were so important that we decided to defer it until we had had time for further discussion, and, pending its completion, to issue an interim report for the consideration of the Vice-Chancellor of the University and the various University bodies whom its recommendations concerned. This was done in May, 1908. We have now considered, to the best of our power, the subjects covered by our terms of reference, and submit the results of our inquiries and deliberations in the following final Report.

We have divided it into the following chapters:—

1. *Educational movements particularly affecting workpeople.*
2. *The University and Colleges of Oxford: their purpose, history, and endowments.*
3. *The Oxford University Extension movement.*
4. *The demand made by workpeople for University education.*
5. *The establishment of extra-mural Tutorial Classes.*
6. *The admission of workpeople to Oxford.*
7. *The after career of the working-class students.*
8. *Summary of recommendations.*

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CHAPTER I

EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS PARTICULARLY AFFECTING WORKPEOPLE

1 THE story of adult education in the nineteenth century has still to be written, and we cannot in this chapter do more than give a brief sketch of the movements which throw most light on the problem before us. They show that the demand now made by workpeople for the opening of the Universities is not the outcome of merely fugitive conditions, but has behind it a great mass of experience derived from the attempts which they have made in the past, sometimes unsuccessfully, sometimes with moderate success, to organize higher education suitable to their needs. Since it has rarely been crystallized in permanent institutions, their interest in education has not maintained a steady level or a regular advance, but has waxed and waned, leaped forward and sunk back, as the hopes kindled by other movements awoke them to new possibilities, or distress and disappointment made them sceptical of any kind of progress. Religion, machine production, the co-operative movement, Christian socialism, political discontent, have all contributed something to the demand for higher education among workpeople, and have left their mark upon the movement with which Oxford and other Universities are now confronted.

2 Earliest in point of time, and growing in influence to the present day, was the Adult School movement,[1] which commenced at the end of the eighteenth century as an attempt to organize undenominational religious teaching for working men and women, and which, largely owing to the enthusiasm of members of the Society of Friends, has of late spread its branches over the greater part of England. On Jan. 1, 1909, there were 1,662 adult schools in existence (1,102 for men, 560 for women), and 220 new schools were opened in 1908 (men's 120, women's 100). The number of members was over 110,000. While the atmosphere of the schools is

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[1] See Professor Sadler's *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, which has been used freely throughout this chapter.

religious, they are more and more dealing with secular subjects. Their ultimate purpose is 'to intensify the social spirit by associating men together for the free study of the deeper problems of life, viewed in relation to the ideal of manhood set before them in the Gospels'. The time of meeting is usually Sunday morning, and Bible reading or religious instruction is accompanied by general teaching of one kind or another—dictation, writing, or short lessons in history, science, or geography. It seems probable, to judge by developments which are now going on, that in the future the adult schools will systematize more thoroughly the instruction which they give in secular subjects.[1] If this is done, they are likely to play a very important part in the higher education of workpeople.

3 Contemporary with the beginnings of the adult school movement was another development of a very different kind. At the end of the eighteenth century the industrial revolution had almost killed the craftsman in certain industries, and was creating the mechanic. The application of science to industry produced a demand for a race of workmen who had received some training over and above the customary dexterity imparted by the traditional and fast decaying apprenticeship system. This tendency, in conjunction with the increasing interest taken by the public in the physical sciences, resulted in an attempt to supply workpeople with technical education by means of Mechanics' Institutes, which sprang up and flourished in rapidly growing industrial centres like Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Huddersfield, and Birmingham. From 1800 to 1804 Dr. Birkbeck, the Professor of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow, lectured to 500 artisans; while at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Hawick, there were almost equally large audiences. In 1821 the Edinburgh School of Art was founded for giving education to the working classes; in 1823 the Mechanics' Institution was founded in Glasgow, the Mechanics' and Apprentices' Library in Liverpool, and the London Mechanics' Institution

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[1] In 1908 the National Council of Adult School Unions organized 29 week-end lecture schools, sending down qualified lecturers to meet groups of schools. See also note on page 7.

in London; while in 1824 Manchester took the first step towards its present magnificent Technological College by founding a Mechanics' Institution. For the next twenty-five years the movement spread rapidly. A number of unions of institutes were formed in several different counties for the purpose of engaging lecturers and interchanging opinions. In 1850 there were in England about 610 literary and mechanics' institutions, with a membership of 102,000; in Scotland 55 institutes, with 12,500 members. The success of the movement in England was due first and foremost to the fact that it supplied a need with which the State had hardly begun to cope, by offering workpeople an easily accessible training in the scientific principles of their professions; and it is noticeable that in Wales and Ireland—countries at that date almost untouched by the great industrial change—it was a comparative failure. But after 1850 it declined very rapidly. Some institutes had never succeeded, in spite of their name, in attracting the artisan class. In others it was found that the preliminary equipment of the student who had never attended an elementary school was too small for him to make good use of lectures and classes. In all there was probably some disillusionment and disappointment when it was found that the direct effects of technical institutions in bettering the material condition of the individual workman were comparatively small. As an organized and widespread effort, therefore, the Mechanics' Institute movement carried little weight after the middle of the century. Its permanent success lay in preparing the way for a Government Department of Science (established in 1853), and for the foundation of the younger Universities.

4 At the time when Mechanics' Institutes were laying the first foundation of technical training, a group of workmen, under the inspiration of very different ideas and associations, were organizing a movement which for more than half a century has set education in the forefront of its programme. The Co-operative Societies, which at present form a large federation embracing about 2½ millions of men and women—nearly one-sixth of the whole adult population—combined in their origin several diverse elements: an idealistic faith

in social regeneration, keen business ability, and something of Owen's belief that, given appropriate conditions, and above all appropriate education, human nature could be modified almost indefinitely for the better. Distrusting alike individualism and political action, they set themselves to try and construct a type of co-operative character by using the business profits of co-operation to teach their members to be better co-operators. From the starting of the Rochdale Pioneers[1] in 1844, a fund for education has been set aside by most societies, and at the present time the co-operative movement possesses an elaborate educational organization, and an income for education which, though small when regarded in relation to the total profits of the co-operative movement, is still considerable. Its educational machinery consists of the following bodies:—

(i) The Central Educational Committee of the Co-operative Union, dealing with the whole movement, and formed from the Sectional Boards, with representatives of the Educational Committees, Associations and the Women's Guild.

(ii) Sectional Boards and District Associations.

(iii) Educational Committees' Associations, one in each section, working, if possible, in connexion with the Sectional Boards and District Associations.

(iv) Educational Committees and Women's Guilds connected with local societies.

5 The grants made by co-operative societies for educational purposes amounted in 1907 to about £93,000. As to the expenditure of the money thus raised, no particulars are available since 1896.[2] In that year, at the Woolwich Congress, a special committee on co-operative education was appointed, and 402 societies responded to its inquiries. Of these societies 267 had educational funds, the amount devoted by them to education during the year 1895 being £36,336. Of this sum over £11,000 was spent upon reading rooms and £5,000 upon libraries. Lectures and classes absorbed £2,000. The

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[1] The Rochdale Pioneers originally set aside for education 2½ per cent. on their dividend, since reduced to 1½ per cent.

[2] Another inquiry is now (1909) being undertaken.

report of the committee states that entertainments and concerts, carried on chiefly for propaganda purposes, would account for the greater part of the remaining £17,000.

6 The serious educational work of co-operative societies consisted, till recently, of three kinds—first, the maintenance of continuation classes for children and young persons; second, the organizing of lectures and classes for adults; third, the payment of fees and the granting of scholarships, such as the Hughes and Neale Scholarships at Oriel College, and the Blandford Travelling Scholarship. The organization of evening schools by the local authorities, which was made possible under the Education Act of 1902, has caused several co-operative societies holding continuation schools to hand them over to the local authority; and there is a growing and probably a wise feeling among the co-operators that their educational funds could be better expended than in giving education which would otherwise be paid for out of the rates. More characteristic of the co-operative movement, and more important in itself, has been the attempt to promote humane education among adults, combined with a training in the fundamental principles of co-operation. The objects of co-operative education are defined as 'primarily the formation of co-operative character and opinions by teaching the history, theory, and principles of the movement, with economics and industrial and constitutional history in so far as they have a bearing on co-operation; and secondarily, though not necessarily of less import, the training of men and women to take part in industrial and social reforms and civic life generally. It deals with the rights and duties of men and women in their capacities as co-operators, workers, and citizens'. As a reaction against purely individualistic industry, the co-operative movement naturally emphasizes the importance of studying the corporate life of society; and it has been strengthened in the high line which it has taken by the influence exercised upon it at different times by the teaching of Robert Owen, by Christian socialists like Maurice and Kingsley, and by reformers like Arnold Toynbee. Of the work which it conducts through its own teachers, the greater part tends to be given to the study of co-operation,

and the numbers attending classes are even in this subject disproportionately small. In the session 1908–9 there were 545 adult students for the study of co-operation, while 2,583 students entered co-operative book-keeping classes out of a total of 4,049 adult students in classes of all sorts. But in addition to the teaching which they themselves organize, co-operative societies have given financial aid to University Extension courses, and by the emphasis which they lay upon education have encouraged their members to attend them. Their influence has thus not been limited to the movement itself, but has acted as a stimulus to Universities, local authorities, and other teaching bodies, to supply higher education of the kind desired by workpeople, and in a form accessible to them.

7 The fourth movement which we have to notice is the attempt to attach students to a permanent institution by the foundation of Working Men's Colleges. The earliest was established at Sheffield in 1842 under the name of 'the People's College', and it was followed by others at Wolverhampton, Manchester, Ayr, Salford, Cambridge, Leicester, and above all, London. Most of these have either expired or changed their characters. The London Working Men's College, however, has not only had remarkable success as an educational institution, but has remained very near to the original intention of its founders. The idea of Frederick Denison Maurice and his friends was in its essence an attempt to broaden adult education by converting it from a system of instruction into a way of life. In his own words: 'What we wanted was, if possible, to make our teaching a bond of intercourse with the men whom we taught. How that could be, we might never have found out. But the working men themselves had found it out. We heard in 1853 that the people of Sheffield had founded a People's College. The news seemed to us to mark a new era in education. We had belonged to colleges. They had not merely given us a certain amount of indoctrination in certain subjects; they had not merely prepared us for our particular professions; they had borne witness to a culture which is the highest of all culture. We had formed in those Colleges friendships

which we hoped to keep wherever we went—friendships that had had an influence upon our life and character through all the years that had passed since we left them. . . . Was it not a glorious thing, then, that working people should lay hold of this name; that they should say: "We are determined we will have Colleges. Whether you set them up among us or not, we will have them, because we want to connect all our education with our social life, with our fellowship as human beings"?' Maurice saw that the individual student is weak, and that it is mainly in companies that uneducated men travel on the road to knowledge. Moreover, he valued co-operation for its own sake, and brought to education something of the mystical love for 'fellowship' which was afterwards popularized by the art and writings of William Morris. This settled the concrete form into which his plans were to run, and made him prefer collegiate education to separate classes or courses of lectures. At the same time, he realized what many enthusiasts for popular education forget, that the teacher divorced from a tradition of learning, is apt to drop to the level of his audience, and therefore, while insisting that the College should be a College of workpeople, he was anxious that it should keep in close touch with the older Universities. 'The Universities, we hope, will receive persons coming with certificates from our College as readily as from any other, and will grant our students degrees, provided they go through the necessary examinations. How the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London may be disposed to accomplish this object, we cannot, of course, foresee, *but we are confident that no fee will hinder working men from having all the advantages which their fellow-countrymen possess.*' These words were written in 1854. At the present day, the Working Men's College in London is the only institution (apart from Ruskin College and the new College at Fircroft, Bourneville[1]) which offers workpeople both a University education and comradeship in learning. In the year 1908-9 the total number of class entries was 2,397: the number of students was 1,260, of whom 467 or 37 per cent. put themselves down as engaged in manual occupations.[1]

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[1] This new Working Men's College, which is managed by a Committee of which Mr. George Cadbury is the President, began its first term on January 12, 1909.

8 Other agencies and movements might be mentioned, including the University Extension Movement, with which we deal in a later chapter. But it is time to pass on to the influence which has done most in the last few years to turn the attention of workpeople to Higher Education—the revival of a belief in the possibilities of political action. This has inspired trade unionists with something of the same enthusiasm for humane studies that was felt by early co-operators; and though the movement does not do much officially to promote education among its members, trades' councils and trade union branches are more and more adding the organization of lectures, classes, and discussions to their other duties. Thirty years ago the Nottingham Trades' Council had much to do with the inauguration of University Extension work, and at the present day, though there is little system or method in the means adopted, there is a growing opinion that Trade societies should aid the education of their members.

9 Its fruits are seen in the support which has been given to Ruskin College, which was established in 1899 to give working men, and especially those likely to take a leading part in Working-class Movements, an education which will help them in acquiring the knowledge essential to intelligent citizenship. By this means working men are, in the words of the prospectus, to be assisted 'to raise, not rise out of, their class'. The College for this purpose takes up a general attitude of political and religious neutrality, and no inquiry is made into the opinions of prospective students. The teaching is carried on partly by the Correspondence School, which is designed to help the home reading of those who cannot come to Oxford, but the chief concern is naturally with those students who reside at the College itself. The course of study for these now lasts from September to August, and includes Political Economy, History of Political Institutions, Local Government, and Sociology. Essay writing,

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[1] Seventy-seven others did not state their occupation and were probably for the most part manual workers.

grammar, logic, and arithmetic are also taught. There are no competitive examinations, but three essays or revision papers are expected from each student every month. The students do the housework, except such as is connected with the mysteries of cooking, and each is expected to work an hour a day at cleaning, &c. The cost of residence, covering board, lodging, and education, is £52 per annum. The Council of the College includes University men and well-known trade unionists and co-operators. During its ten years of existence 450 students have come into residence, the greater number for one year, including among them engineers, miners, weavers, railwaymen, and representatives of many other trades. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers has raised nearly £2,000 for the College by means of yearly levies on its 110,000 members, and sends six scholars. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants has subscribed £300 to the Building Fund, and has established two scholarships. The Northern Counties Weavers' Association has given £90 and established three scholarships. The Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés has established a scholarship. Subscriptions have been received from the London Society of Compositors, the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, and other working-men's organizations.

10 Of the movements which we have described nearly all were hampered by two serious difficulties, the early termination of the school life of the working classes (see § 72), and the dissociation of the efforts of workpeople from co-operation with the Universities. The former is now under the consideration of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education. With the latter it is the object of this Committee to deal. Though adult education has throughout the nineteenth century received much support and encouragement from individual University men, there has till recently been no regular machinery for enabling Universities to ascertain the special needs of the working classes as voiced by their representatives, and little organized effort on the part of workpeople to claim the Universities as a common national possession. This state of things has been changed by the formation of the Workers' Educational Association, which

has succeeded in bringing academic and working-class opinion into alliance, and was indeed responsible for the Conference which led to the appointment of the Committee. The Association was founded in 1903, and consists of a federation of over 1,000 working-class and educational bodies, including 420 Trade Unions and Branches, 150 Co-operative Committees, 120 adult schools and classes, 8 University Extension Authorities, 3 University Colleges, 350 Societies, chiefly composed of workpeople, but including Literary societies, University Extension Centres, and others. It has fifty local branches in different parts of England and Wales, and is governed by a Council representing the branches and the affiliated national movements. Its work consists in stimulating the demand for Higher Education among workpeople, in co-operating with Universities and other Education authorities to supply their needs, and in acting as a Bureau of Intelligence upon all matters which affect the education of workpeople. By organizing Higher Education upon a democratic basis under the direct control of workpeople themselves, and at the same time placing at their disposal the best academic advice, it has succeeded in bringing together two elements which are indispensable to the success of any movement for the Higher Education of the working classes. We consider that the best hope for such education in the future lies in the growth of the Association, and in its establishment on a sound financial basis.

Amongst educational movements particularly affecting workpeople mention should be made of the extension of Public Libraries. Public libraries have now been established in over 500 places. They issue catalogues of their books, many of them annotated so as to serve as guides to reading, and it is usual to provide reading lists on topical subjects. Lectures and reading circles are also frequently arranged in connexion with libraries. In some towns, according to a growing custom, readers are permitted to go among the books and handle them. In all these ways public libraries have done good service in awakening and keeping alive educational influences in working-class districts; and we believe their educational possibilities cannot be over-emphasized.

CHAPTER II

THE UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGES OF OXFORD THEIR PURPOSE, HISTORY, AND ENDOWMENTS

IT would not be germane to our purpose to enter upon the 11 history and work of the University of Oxford in any detail. But, as in the later part of our Report we make various recommendations affecting the University, it seems desirable to set out clearly and briefly what the actual situation is. What we say may be familiar to many of those into whose hands our Report will come; but we have thought it better to run the risk of this than to leave our point of view uncertain.

The University and Colleges of Oxford, like all other Uni- 12 versities and Colleges, is a body constituted for the preservation and advancement of learning. This aspect of it is apt to be overlooked, and undue emphasis is laid upon what are called its social advantages. No one can possibly wish to deny that the association of people together in a residential University has effects upon the character which are, in most cases, of the greatest value; but it cannot be too distinctly asserted that these results are incidental rather than primary. They depend, of course, upon the common pursuit of knowledge, upon the intercourse of students and teachers, who are drawn together by a common interest, or who follow various lines of interest side by side. It is not the mere association of individuals that gives Universities of the English type their special character—it is their association in the pursuit of knowledge.

If the University of Oxford were disposed to forget or 13 ignore this purpose within its own limits, the rivalry of other Universities would force the matter forward. Oxford has to take its share—a share that adequately represents its history and capacities—in the general advance in knowledge. It is affected by the modern conditions which have brought all parts of the world more closely together: it has to consider what is going on, not only in the sister-University of Cambridge, but in the newer English Universities, and, perhaps still more, in the Universities of Germany and America. Whatever else it might do, it would have failed in its first duty if it were to lose ground among the learned bodies of the world.

14 Any consideration of the University must start from this—its primary function; but it is of special importance to keep it clearly in view if we are attempting to form an opinion upon the Endowments of Oxford and the use made of them. We may say, roughly, that it exercises this function in two ways—by providing a large body of trained teachers, and by securing that persons who have capacity and desire for learning shall have the opportunity of attending their instruction.

15 The teaching-function of Oxford is performed by two classes of people—by the Professors and Readers who teach in the name and with the authority of the whole University, and by the Tutors and Lecturers, who are appointed and paid by the Colleges.

16 (i) *University Teachers.* In the University Calendar for 1908 (pp. 37-41) will be found a list of 105 Professors and Readers. These are the persons to whom the University entrusts its higher teaching, and of whom it expects the advancement of learning. They are not all appointed in the same way, nor upon the same conditions; they vary greatly in the work required of them, and the stipend paid to them. Roughly speaking, the cost of this body of teachers is £40,000 per annum, of which sum the Colleges, directly or indirectly, contribute about £27,000.[1] To this expenditure must be

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[1] These figures do not pretend to exactness, but they have been tested in various ways, and will be found, we think, to be fairly accurate. The accounts of the University simply deal with the moneys administered by the Curators of the Chest, and therefore do not show, for instance, the stipends of Professors paid wholly by a College, but do show endowments of which the proceeds are paid completely to a Professor, in regard to which the University simply acts as an intermediary. The accounts, both of the College and the University, are presented in a statutory form, which aims at showing not the cost of the work of the University, but the agreement of its administration with the requirements of the Statutes.

added a considerable outlay each year upon the equipment of the various departments. As would naturally be anticipated, such items are largest in connexion with the various branches of Natural Science.

(ii) *College Teachers*. By far the largest part of the teaching and lecturing is done by the Tutors and Lecturers. From the published accounts for 1908 it appears that the sums paid by the Colleges to the Tuition Funds amounted to some £62,000. This sum covers the amounts paid to the Tutors, but other expenses are also included. It is impossible to tell from the published accounts the exact sums paid for teaching. 17

There is not the slightest likelihood that expenditure of this kind will diminish, though it is possible that by reducing their staffs Colleges would effect economies. Indeed, there is a strong feeling that many subjects are, in the present conditions, existing at a starvation level. Owing to the lack of means, professors have to do their work as best they can with very insufficient equipment; and the bare needs of the University, for its own work in Oxford, cannot be satisfied without the expenditure of a very large annual sum. 18

There are many reasons why the higher developments of learning must necessarily prove expensive. Research, even such research as is required for a teacher, much more such research as really advances his subject, needs leisure. Its results are attained slowly, and cannot be produced at will. As in the old days books were too expensive for the individual student to possess in large numbers, so now the scientific inquirer needs costly apparatus and laboratories. It is possible that expenditure has not always been conducted with the strictest eye to economy; but it is never possible to base a criticism of the expenses of higher learning upon the analogy of trade without considerable danger of error. Unless the pursuit of new knowledge in untried paths is to be starved, there will always be the appearance of waste: there will be efforts without tangible result, and persons will occupy themselves in investigations which seem useless. Like all other reasonably ordered institutions, the University should work with an eye to economy; but the freedom of its 19 workers to follow their lines of study unhindered is a more fundamentally necessary consideration even than economy.

20 We have placed these reflections in the forefront of our remarks upon the University because we think it important to emphasize our conviction that any method of dealing with the University which impaired its value as a learned body, or diminished its output in the various branches of learning, would be ruinous to the University, and would defeat its own end. We give reasons below (§ 107) for our conviction that our recommendations, so far from thwarting or diverting these activities, will afford them valuable co-operation and stimulus.

21 We remarked above that the University fulfils its functions in two ways—by providing teachers and by attracting scholars. We must now pass on to this second branch of the subject. It must be remembered that the modern organization of the University with which we are familiar does not correspond with its original form. In the first days of the University there were no Colleges, and it was the introduction of the collegiate system which had most to do with the gradual change in the organization of the University. It is not possible here to go into the history of the University and Colleges in any detail: it will be necessary only to mention a few points in order to make clear our position.

22 According to the best evidence available, the Schools of Oxford came into existence at about the beginning of the twelfth century, while the foundation of the 'University' may probably be connected with a migration of English students from Paris to Oxford in or about the year 1167.[1] It is not certain what form of government they used: there is no mention of a Chancellor till the year 1214; it is probable, however, that they reproduced the order to which they had been accustomed at Paris. Of this Dr. Rashdall writes as follows (op. cit. p. 361): 'The University of Paris was what has been called a merely customary society, without officers,

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[1] See Dr. Rashdall, *Universities in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii, p. 339. In our account of the University, we have followed Dr. Rashdall throughout, except when stated to the contrary.

written Statutes, or any other attributes of a recognized legal corporation.' At this stage the constitution of the University would have been extremely simple, somewhat like that of a guild of craftsmen. The students gathered round licensed teachers, and, after due instruction and exercises, became themselves licensed to teach. The fame of the teachers drew large numbers of students to the town, and this was a source of trouble as well as a sign of success. In 1213 the King thought it necessary to issue a Brief to the Sheriff banishing all scholars who were not under a regular master (Rashdall, p. 393). So far as there was common life for the students of these times, it would have been in the halls or hostels, of which there was a large number. There were not, at first, buildings specially erected for academic purposes, but merely houses occupied by scholars. They could be let again to ordinary tenants, if the scholars vacated them—provided (after 1303) that no other body of scholars wished to take them.

It is obvious that a situation such as this must have been 23 greatly lacking in discipline and order. The scholars were apt to be turbulent, quarrelling among themselves and with the people of the town. One of the conspicuous advantages of the Colleges when once founded was that the members of these bodies lived under a rule which tended to protect both them and the townspeople from the danger of unbridled licence.

We must now inquire briefly, What were the declared 24 purposes of the founders of Colleges, and for whom were they founded? In answer to the first question we may say generally that every single College in Oxford was founded for purposes of learning. In many of them elaborate directions were imposed by the founder upon those who profited by his munificence, determining the lines of their academic studies. But there was a further purpose usually associated with this. The scholars or fellows were bound to pray for the soul of the founder and his relations—in the case of All Souls, especially for King Henry V and those who died in his wars in France. It was this function, together with the large attention paid to Theology, that led to the Fellows, who had always been clerics, being compelled to take Priests' Orders. There were no such restrictions in the earliest Colleges. Further, certain great monasteries such as Gloucester and Durham, established houses in Oxford where their monks could reside and acquire such knowledge as they needed.

25 The Colleges were thus places devoted to learning, to a large extent theological learning, in which the Scholars lived under a rule of some kind, and were bound by certain definite obligations. What we have already said about the relation of the University to learning is thus entirely consistent with the purposes of the Founders of the Colleges, though the learning they pursued would look very strange in a modern University.[1]

26 The question *for whom* the Colleges were endowed is a much more difficult one, and perhaps does not admit of a single unqualified answer.

27 It is sometimes maintained that the Founders aimed solely at providing an access to the higher walks of life for members of the poorer classes. Thus the Report of the Royal Commission of 1852 (p. 136) declares of the Colleges: 'They were designed to supply poor students, so long as they were poor, and so long as they were students, but no longer, with a maintenance, decent and honest, as it is expressed in the Statutes of New College, but of a very frugal character.'

28 There is no doubt much in the old foundation-Statutes which gives countenance to this view. In the large majority of the Statutes the persons to be elected are defined as 'poor', 'poor and indigent', 'poor men living on alms' (pauperes ex eleemosyna viventes); and they are in most cases obliged to swear that they have not more than a certain amount of fixed annual income. For instance, William of Wykeham in founding New College (1386) states that in addition to his kinsmen 'poor indigent clerks are to be admitted because Christ among his works of mercy hath commanded men to receive the poor into their houses, and mercifully to comfort the indigent'. In Queen's and

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[1] For further details see Appendix i on the Statutes of the Colleges.

New College the Fellows are forbidden to keep dogs, on the ground that 'to give to dogs the bread of the children of man is not fitting for the poor, especially for those who live on alms'. Further, the sums provided for the daily commons of food, even if we make allowance for the changed value of money, were extremely small; and the rule of plain living was not only held as a theory but enforced in practice. It is worth while quoting, in proof of this, the severe reproof addressed by Archbishop Peckham to the Fellows of Merton, of which College he was the Visitor, fourteen years after the date of the last Statutes of Walter de Merton, 'Regardless of the duties of gratitude and charity, and mindful only of your own advantage, you have taken not little more than your settled allowance, though the decrees of your founder were expressed and urgent, not for an increase of the allowance to existing scholars, but for an increase in the number of scholars. Some there are among you, who desiring to live more delicately than suits the poorer portion of the Community make the modus of your expenditure notably to exceed that which your founder by rule appointed.'

There are, however, a number of considerations which 29
make it difficult to accept this view as it stands. The statutable provisions were, in many Colleges, complicated by special privileges for Founder's kin. Even so far back as the Statutes of Dervorguilla, the foundress of Balliol, it is plain that the College consisted of men of different degrees of wealth and scales of living. In the interest of the poorer scholars she exhorts the richer ones to live 'so temperately as not to weigh down the poor by reason of burdensome expenses' (*Statutes of the Colleges*, ed. 1853, p. vi). Such a provision would have been unnecessary if the Scholars had all been drawn from the poorest class. Again, in the Balliol Statutes of 1507, the Fellows are to choose as a scholar the candidate whom they think most suitable according to three conditions, poverty, excellence of character, proficiency in learning, or one in whom they find these conditions most exemplified in combination. In the Statutes of 1270 for Merton there is a further foundation for really poor men beyond the original

one—*pauperes secundarii*, 'secondary' or 'second-class poor': and in several cases it would appear that the strictly eleemosynary foundation was not identical with the main constitution of the College. Moreover it is very difficult to believe that the scholars could have met the expenses of their degrees and the like if they had nothing, or almost nothing, beyond their Collegiate endowments. As Dr. Rashdall remarks (p. 662), 'the mere fact that great prelates designed the Colleges in part for their nearest relatives shows how far they were from intending their liberality to be confined to the lowest and poorest classes, or from expecting those who accepted it to live like labourers, although at that time there was less difference than now between the diet of the labourer and that of the classes immediately above him. The will of a Fellow of Queen's College in the fifteenth century shows that it was possible for a Fellow to possess several horses, besides sheep and cattle, and to have lent his father as large a sum as £7.'

30 Other points might be mentioned, but the most significant is supplied by the University records, which give us information about individual students themselves. Of these Dr. Rashdall writes as follows (*Universities*, vol. ii, p. 658): 'After all, as we see from the University records, it was only a very small proportion of the students in a University, and a still smaller proportion of University graduates, who belonged to the pauper or servitor class. The vast majority of scholars were of a social position intermediate between the highest and the very lowest—sons of knights and yeomen, merchants, tradesmen, or thrifty artisans, nephews of successful ecclesiastics, or promising lads who had attracted the notice of a neighbouring Abbot or Archdeacon.' And again (p. 661): 'A "poor scholar" in the sense of College founders meant only a scholar unable to support himself at the University without assistance.' 'It is almost assumed that the College Fellow would, as a rule, have some small private means: since the College allowance was usually confined to bare food and clothing" (ibid. p. 662).

31 It is fair to conclude then that the Colleges were not founded exclusively for, or ever tenanted exclusively by, the

members of the poorer classes of the community. They were founded, in an age when life was much simpler and differences of comfort between class and class less marked than in our own, for inmates drawn from all classes but the richest and the very poorest; and they were mainly tenanted by members of what roughly corresponded in the mediaeval division of ranks to our middle class. They were intended for the poor, but not with the idea that they were to remain poor, but that they should become Churchmen, members of a peculiar and powerful caste, rising out of their class into positions of dignity and authority; for in the Middle Ages what are now known as the professions were, with a few unimportant exceptions, monopolized by Churchmen. The important difference between mediaeval and modern Oxford is not that in the Middle Ages the majority of students were drawn from the poorer while to-day they are drawn from the wealthier classes, but that in the Middle Ages the University was *open to practically all who desired to learn, irrespective of wealth or poverty.* No doubt the problem was then far simpler than it is now. The necessity for knowledge was less manifest and the desire for it less general and widespread. But we venture to maintain that the recommendations made below, which aim at removing, so far as possible, the bar of poverty, and making the University more accessible to working-class students, are thoroughly in harmony with the original objects of the Colleges.

It will perhaps be of interest to inquire briefly into the causes to which this change in the composition of the Colleges is due. 32

In the course of the last three centuries two influences have been at work to alter the social character of the classes resorting to Oxford for an education, and to diminish the number of poor students. 33

On the one hand the fixed expenses of College life have increased with the growth of the demands made upon them for housing room, lecture rooms, and generally for a more extensive and opulent establishment than was conceived in the fourteenth century, or if conceived, would 34 have been thought suitable for the students. A Visitor of Merton in 1284 might reluctantly yield to the 'importunities' of that Society 'some relaxation for wood, straw, and the like'. But at the present day the Fellows of a College must maintain an expensive plant, and a fund for its depreciation, must be prepared to extend it with the growth in the number of students and of branches of study, and must satisfy the demands of exacting parents that rooms are sanitary and commodious. We are far from implying that no reduction is possible in the scale of College life, or that the capital expenditure on buildings has always been necessary or judicious. And though, as Appendix ii shows, efforts have been made in Oxford to keep down the cost of College life to the students, there can be no doubt that the increase in the demands made upon the Colleges, and the rise in the standard of comfort to which the middle classes, during the nineteenth century their chief *clientèle*, are accustomed, have resulted in making it almost impossible for the sons of poor parents to reside in them unless they receive some special allowance by way of scholarships or exhibitions. To say that the expenses of College life in Oxford are due mainly to the social habits of individuals resorting to them, and to the fashion which they set, is an incomplete statement. Though it is true that there is extravagance among wealthy men in Oxford, just as there is in the same class outside Oxford, and though their habits and example no doubt make life more difficult for the man of small means, the real reason why poor men cannot enter College without assistance lies in the fact that the fixed expenses of College life, fixed that is by the scale of establishment and maintenance which College authorities think necessary, are too great for them to bear, however economical they may be.

35 Side by side with the change in the cost of College life, partly as a cause, partly as a consequence, has taken place a change in the type of student who is able to exercise an effective demand for University education. The mediaeval student was drawn largely, if not predominantly, from the class of yeomen or farmers, and found his career in what are now

classed together as the professions. But with the intellectual and economic revolutions of the sixteenth century, the love of learning spread upwards, while yeomen evicted from their lands were in no position to send their sons to Oxford. If the former change was a blessing, the latter change was an unmixed evil. To writers like Latimer and Harrison the gradual divorce between these classes and the Universities seemed one of the most sinister features in an age of popular suffering. 'If ye bring it to pass,' wrote the former,[1] 'that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school (as indeed Universities do wondrously decay already), I say ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm. Is this realm taught by rich men's sons? No, no; read the chronicles. By yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is, and hath been maintained chiefly.'

36 The result of these and other changes has been the gradual establishment, first between Oxford and the old aristocracy, and then between Oxford and the new aristocracy created by the Industrial Revolution, of the connexion which exists at the present day. These social changes have been partly counteracted on the Continent by the organization of the professions. When the Church ceased, after the Reformation, to be the only gateway to professional life, Continental nations tended to restrict the new professions, as they grew up, to University-trained men, and the Faculties of the Continental Universities are thus to a large extent schools for professional men. But in England practically every profession (except that of higher education) is both by rule and in practice open to aspirants whether they have received a University training or not. This has brought with it some advantages of its own; but it has tended to make University life in England a luxury confined to the wealthy class and to the upper members of the professional class, who can afford a lengthier period of training. Figures as to the wealth and social position of the students are not available, and, if available, would probably be of little value. But it is undeniable that in spite of the presence in Oxford of a considerable number

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[1] Latimer, *First Sermon preached before King Edward VI.*

of comparatively poor men, Oxford is in the main the University of the wealthier classes, and public opinion, even cultured opinion, still clings to the idea that the main reason for its existence is that it may give to a select class 'the education of a gentleman'. We are far from suggesting that this is a view usually, or even frequently, taken in Oxford itself, and we need not say that in emphasizing the fact that the endowments of Colleges were originally intended, as they undoubtedly were, for the maintenance of 'poor students', we do not imply, what is sometimes stated, that 'they have been taken from the poor and given to the rich'. Such a statement, unless accompanied by large qualifications, would not be true, because a considerable part of the endowments at present held by Oxford Colleges do at the present day maintain students who could not receive an Oxford education without them; and even if it were true, it would have little relevance to the demand now put forward that Oxford should be made more accessible to poor men, because the divorce of the poorer classes from Oxford, which has increased during the last three centuries, is partly due to changes which could not possibly be controlled by the Colleges.

37 It is neither practicable nor desirable that the present policy of Colleges should be bound by all the original intentions of their founders; and we certainly do not base the recommendations made below, which are designed to re-establish a closer connexion between Oxford and the poorer classes, on the mere historical argument that this was one purpose of those who endowed the Colleges. We think it desirable, however, to emphasize the explicit directions of these founders, that the Colleges should provide for 'poor students', partly because they express an idea which is worthy of carrying weight, in spite of the fact that they are no longer legally binding; partly because they explain the widespread, and not wholly inarticulate, opinion of the working classes, that the poorer members of the community have lost something as well as gained something by the progress of education, and that in demanding a larger share in the endowments at the disposal of Oxford, they are asking, not for an innovation, but for

a restoration of old advantages under the changed form which the constitution of modern industrial society makes necessary.

Thus the West London Council of the Independent Labour 38 Party in answering a question as to their views on the organization of Higher Education for the working classes, stated 'that the funds requisite for carrying out this idea should be met by grants from the Imperial Exchequer, and by the restoration of educational endowments, which, primarily intended for the education of the poor, have in the course of time become appropriated by the richer members of the community'. The following words of a Labour newspaper represent an attitude of mind which is not uncommon among workpeople: 'So far as the spread of knowledge among all classes is concerned the wealth of Oxford has proved more of a curse than a blessing. It has not made learning any cheaper. It does not foster and encourage poor and deserving students. It does not promote simplicity of life, or keep the University free from abuses, or give equality of opportunity to everybody. It attracted the sons of noble and wealthy aristocrats, who could afford to pay large sums of money for their education, and indulge in all kinds of expensive amusements, and Oxford thus became the rich man's University. The poor and deserving students were driven out of Oxford by heavy expenses, and they had to go where they could get a training for the money. We need some drastic reforms to compel these mediaeval institutions to adapt themselves to the altered circumstances of our own time.' We quote this statement because it expresses at any rate the view of the working classes that Oxford holds her endowments in a fiduciary capacity, and as the trustee, not of a class, but of a whole community.

The machinery by which men of small means are enabled 39 to reside for three or four years in an Oxford College consists of scholarships and exhibitions, and of special grants made by the Colleges to poor students.

The scholarship system of Oxford Colleges has undergone 40 great changes in the course of their development. It has been applied in several different ways, and its best application is still a matter of controversy. At the present day the 'scholar' is naturally contrasted with the 'commoner', but this contrast is a comparatively modern one, for there were but few of the Colleges in which it was originally intended that any person should be educated except members of the foundation and their attendants. In the earlier statutes of most of them the name 'scholars' is applied to those who would now be called 'fellows'. But it was necessary to provide for the maintenance of the number of Fellows by making arrangements for recruiting them, and it became in time the custom to establish two classes of members on the foundation—the one consisting of Fellows, who, as a general rule, were to be graduates at the time of their election, the other of persons elected to be undergraduates. From the foundation of Magdalen (1458) this division seems to have become the general rule. But something analogous to it is to be found in the Colleges established at an earlier date. For example, by the earlier statute of Queen's College there was to be added to the governing body of Fellows a proportionate number of poor boys, to be maintained in the College, to wait on the Fellows, and to be educated by a master provided for them. The fourth and last statutes of Balliol, which date from 1507, directed that each of the Fellows was to have the nomination of one scholar, sufficiently learned in plain song and grammar, who was to live on the broken meat of the Fellows' table, and to be the servitor of his patron; and as early as 1386, about a century after its foundation, Merton College was entrusted with an endowment for twelve Postmasters, or Portionistae, who occupy much the same position as scholars at other Colleges. With the admission of Extranei, or persons not on the foundation, first noblemen and gentlemen commoners, then commoners from all classes, there arose the distinction between the scholar and commoner which exists to-day.

41 The original intention of the founder and benefactor of most Colleges had been to maintain at Oxford a succession of students drawn from schools or localities in which they were specially interested, or to which they owed some particular obligation. Thus University College had certain scholarships restricted to the natives of Yorkshire; the endow-

ments given to Balliol by Peter Blundell were confined to Tiverton school; while of the exhibitions given at Queen's College some were appropriated to schools in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, others to natives of Lancashire, Cheshire, Wiltshire, Gloucester, and Middlesex. The most striking instance of a connexion established between a College and a particular school was the famous benefaction of the founder of New College. According to the direction of William of Wykeham the persons to be admitted, after his own kinsmen, were to be members of Winchester College. His kinsmen at Winchester were to be preferred to all others; on the failure of kinsmen, then persons of the place where either of his Colleges had spiritual or temporal possessions; next poor indigent clerks, scholars, of the Diocese of Winchester: then persons from certain specified counties: and finally natives of any part of England, provided that they had been instructed in Winchester College for one year.

The system of which this is typical lasted, with a few unimportant changes, down to the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was swept away, except in certain special cases, by the Royal Commission of 1852, in order to make way for the awarding of scholarships after examination, and without reference to the place of birth and education, or to the intention expressed by benefactors and founders. At the present day New College still reserves certain of its scholarships to Winchester, Christ Church to Westminster, and St. John's to the Merchant Taylors' School in London, But in the main it is true to say that, with some important exceptions, any boy from any school is eligible to receive an Oxford scholarship, if he satisfies the demands of the examiners. 42

Having given this summary sketch of the scholarship system of the Oxford Colleges, we proceed to discuss briefly how far it may be considered successful in making the University accessible to men of every class, whatever their financial means. 43

The total sum expended annually by Oxford Colleges in scholarships and exhibitions amounts probably to a little 44 over £50,000. Of this sum about £16,200 a year, or a little less than 35 per cent., is restricted to scholarships and exhibitions tenable only by poor men, either in the way of foundations statutably limited to them, or in the way of foundations (such as the Hastings Foundation at Queen's College), for which only the members of certain schools, attended largely by poor boys, are eligible, or in the way of grants made by the Colleges, at their discretion, to poor men. (These discretionary grants are estimated to amount to not less than £3,000 per annum.) The remainder of the sum of £50,000, amounting probably to about £34,000, or 66 per cent. of the total expenditure made annually on scholarships and exhibitions, is awarded without reference to the financial means of the recipient: though of course a considerable proportion of it is, in practice, won by men who could not obtain education in an Oxford College without it.

45 The character of Oxford scholarships is therefore at the present day a double one. Like the rest of the endowments entrusted to Oxford Colleges, they were originally designed to be eleemosynary, for the maintenance of 'poor students' and of 'poor students' only; and this aspect is still preserved in the limitation of the majority of exhibitions to men of small means. But since the middle of the nineteenth century it has been generally held that the maximum of efficiency in the schools could only be secured by awarding scholarships to the ablest candidates, irrespective of their financial needs and position, with the result that nearly all the scholarships have ceased to be eleemosynary, and have become educational prizes given in accordance with the opinion expressed by the Commissioners of 1852, 'that the endowments of the Colleges may be used to mould and incite the schools by encouragement in the form of scholarships.'

46 It would be outside the scope of this report to inquire how far the influence of the Oxford scholarship system upon the schools affected by it is a good one, and how far it is desirable to 'mould and incite' them by offering prizes of £80 a year tenable for three or four years to their ablest members

irrespective of their financial needs. But in consideration of the terms of our Reference we think it proper to point out that the changes recommended by the Commission of 1852, while they did much good, had the effect of severing the connexion which had till then existed between Oxford and a considerable number of Grammar Schools attended mainly by the children of poor parents. While the system of close scholarships, scholarships restricted, that is, to certain schools or counties or to founders' kin, was undoubtedly indefensible, in view of the change in the distribution of the population which had taken place since they were instituted, it appears true to say that it had at one time the advantage of keeping open the communication between Oxford and the poorer secondary schools, and that this advantage was largely lost when the system was abolished, or almost abolished. The importance which the Commissioners, in common with most of the men of their day, attached to 'Free competition' appears to have caused them to overlook its incidental disadvantages, and, in particular, to consider the establishment of a connexion between Oxford and schools attended by the poor as less important than the raising of the standard of attainment in schools attended mainly, though by no means entirely, by the well-to-do.

It is also worth while to point out that the democratic movement of the nineteenth century has in a sense actually had an adverse influence upon the admission of poor students to the University, for it has made the system of servitors, by which poor men in previous centuries were enabled to reside, universally distasteful.

To sum up our remarks on that part of the endowments 47 of Oxford Colleges which is dispensed in scholarships:— There are three main reasons why, at the present day, the scholarship system of Oxford Colleges cannot be regarded as doing all that is desirable in the way of making Oxford accessible to men of small means. First, the fact that scholarships and some (though not all) exhibitions are awarded without inquiry into the financial needs of the recipients has the effect of diminishing the endowments available for bringing poor men to Oxford. Most Colleges now send out notices to scholars suggesting that the emoluments should be returned if not required, and there has of recent years been an increase in the number of emoluments thus returned. But this palliative cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Second, the predominance of classical subjects in scholarship examinations tends to give an advantage to boys from the schools, especially the great 'public' schools, where the classics are taught most fully, and excludes boys from many small secondary schools where the requirements of the majority of the pupils causes those subjects to be crowded out by other studies. It may be noted that there has lately been a tendency on the part of several Colleges to offer more scholarships for subjects other than Classics. Third, the fact that the industrial life of the lad who will be a workman begins not later than sixteen, makes it impossible for him to take advantage of an Oxford scholarship at the same age, and on the same lines, as boys from the secondary schools. While, therefore, the limitation of more scholarships to poor men and the awarding of a larger number of scholarships in subjects other than classics would result in making it easier for the *children* of the working classes to enter Oxford, a movement which is very desirable, it would not by itself and without further changes bring to Oxford the class which is specially contemplated in this report, namely those persons who are, or who are going to be, workmen *themselves*. We return to this subject in the recommendations made in § 125.

48 *Note on Endowments.*

It is impossible, without unduly extending our Report, to give a full description of the endowments of the University and their utilization. There are three reasons why it is desirable before closing this chapter to give a brief account of them.

(*a*) The endowments of the University and Colleges constitute by far the greater part of the financial resources at Oxford's disposal.

(*b*) There is a widespread conviction among the working classes that these endowments have not been utilized as much as is possible and desirable in the best educational interests of the poorer sections of the community.

(*c*) Any proposal to organize the education offered by Oxford in such a way as to make it accessible to men of small means, or to add new branches of study, or to develop those already existing, in the manner suggested below, will entail a certain amount of additional expenditure, and must take account of the funds which Oxford has at its disposal.

The Revenues of the University of Oxford are classified, 49 in the statutory form prescribed by the Statute of 1882, under the following heads:—

A. External Receipts.
B. Internal Receipts.
C. Trust Funds.
D. Sale of Stock.
E. From Colleges.

Of these A. and C. alone concern us, as they alone represent Endowments.

The revenues of the Colleges of Oxford are classified similarly:—

A. External Receipts.
B. Internal Receipts.
C. Trust Funds.
D. Special Funds.

The Internal Receipts do not concern us as they are payments made by undergraduates for services rendered, and consist of Admission fees, Degree fees, Tuition fees, Room rents, Establishment charges, &c. The revenue from special funds is so small, amounting in 1906 to not more than £1,672, that it need not be considered. The revenue of Oxford Colleges from endowments may therefore be ascertained by the examination of the 'External Receipts' and the 'Trust Funds'. The former heading includes income from Estates (land and house property), and interest upon investments. The latter heading includes money given in trust for special purposes.

50 The total net receipts of the University and Colleges under these two heads (A. and C.) are given in the following table:—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
A. UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL RECEIPTS.						
1. Estates (gross)	10,272	15	11			
Less expenditure on upkeep	4,056	10	5			
Estates (net)	6,216	5	6			
2. Investments	773	11	5			
3. Other external receipts	2,012	12	10			
				9,002	9	9
C. TRUST FUNDS				15,517	8	6
Total University				24.519	18	3
COLLEGES.						
A. External Receipts.						
1. Estates (gross)	317,525	18	4			
Less expenditure on upkeep	134,241	6	7			
Estates (net)	183,284	11	9			
2. Investments	24,621	11	1			
3. Other External Receipts	907	19	9			
	208,814	2	7			
C. TRUST FUNDS	31,894	5	11			
Total Colleges				240,708	8	6
Total University and Colleges				265,228	6	9

51 The above statement is taken from the published accounts of the University. These are made up in a form prescribed by Statute of which the object is to show that the Statutes for the University and Colleges approved in 1882 are being kept. In order to ascertain from them the general financial position of the University, it is necessary to combine the statements of the University and the Colleges. Starting then from the figure £265,228 6*s.* 9*d.*, the net receipts from Endowments, &c., of the University and Colleges, we inquire what is their expenditure. From the table appended below it appears that the total internal expenditure of the University and Colleges for the year 1907 was £442,445 17*s.* 6½*d.*—a sum which includes about £6,000 or £7,000, set aside, apparently, for various purposes of reserve. The expenditure exceeds the receipts from Endowments by £177,217 10*s.* 9½*d.* This deficit is covered by the sums collected from graduate and undergraduate members of the University and Colleges,

which amounted in 1907 to £178,932 1*s.* 8*d.*, leaving a balance of £1,714 10*s.* 10½*d.*

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rates, Taxes and Insurance	15,966	18	0
Institutions, Chapels and Libraries (including the Cathedral), Maintenance of Buildings and Establishment	79,312	18	4
Officers, Professors, Readers, Examiners, Heads, and Fellows, College Expenditure on University purposes	157,350	3	9
College Tuition	62,653	16	3
College Scholars and Exhibitioners	52,890	15	10½
College expenses, allowance, servants, &c.	33,196	3	7
Pension Fund	5,640	14	10
Miscellaneous	35,434	6	11
	442,445	17	6½

To analyse these figures fully and set them out at length would occupy far more space than is at our disposal in this Report. We may, however, make the following comments. These figures show how far the University, treated as a single Institution, falls short of being completely supported by Endowments, and how important are the payments of its members. The existence of the Endowments reduces the cost to every one, but the contributions of the members of the University are necessary. Two of the items under the head of Institutions, &c., are high and likely to remain so for opposite reasons. 'Institutions' cover the various Departments of the Museum. These are costly because Natural Science is a new subject, and the University is engaged in bringing its equipment up to a proper level in a comparatively short period of years. The maintenance of Buildings is also a very large item: but this is, in a great measure, due to the fact that the buildings are, in many cases, old. The direct assistance offered in Oxford to encourage a high level of Scholarship in Schools, and to assist poor Students, is found under the head of College Scholars and Exhibitioners: but, as we have already noticed, all persons alike, both poor and well-to-do, are benefited indirectly by the existence of the Endowments.

NOTE. The accounts referred to above are published every May for the year ending on the previous December 31, and can be procured from the Clarendon Press or through any bookseller at 3*s.* 6*d.*

CHAPTER III

THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY EXTENSION MOVEMENT

52 THE chief existing means, by which it is sought to introduce teaching of a University standard to persons who are unable to enter the University, is to be found in the instruction organized by the Oxford University Extension Delegacy, and by similar bodies at other Universities. *The Extension work of other Universities, especially Cambridge and London, differs in many important essentials from the work of Oxford University and has not been considered in the preparation of this Report.* We proceed to state here (i) the origin and objects of the University Extension Movement; (ii) its methods and organization; (iii) the reasons which make it difficult for it, as at present organized, to supply the education of a University standard now demanded by workpeople.

53 (i) *The Origin and Objects of University Extension.*

'University Extension' is a phrase which has been applied in the course of the nineteenth century to different movements having for their object to increase the opportunities for Higher Education open to adult students. Thus the Oxford University Commissioners of 1852 used it to denote plans for founding affiliated halls, for allowing students to lodge in the town in connexion with Colleges, and for granting degrees without residence in the University. It has been taken to denote the great revival of interest in Higher Education which has resulted in the foundation of Colleges and Universities in various industrial towns. In its present and more restricted sense of extra-mural lectures organized by University authorities for students who are not members of a University, it may be said to date from the lectures delivered in 1867 and in following years by Mr. James Stuart, M.P., then a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. After giving courses of lectures at Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield, Mr. Stuart appealed in 1871 to the University of Cambridge to organize lecture centres under the supervision of the University authorities. His proposal was adopted by Cambridge in 1873, and was followed by the London University Extension Society in 1876, and by the University of Oxford in 1878. Since that date University Extension has been adopted by all English Universities. Between 1885 and 1908, 32,146 lectures have been delivered under the control of the Oxford University Extension Delegacy in some 577 centres, and have been attended by over 424,500 students. At the present day about 40 lecturers are employed by the Delegacy in nearly 300 towns, of which 140 were in 1907-8 in active work.

(ii) *The Method, Organization, and Results of Oxford University Extension.*[1]

54 University Extension teaching consists of courses of lectures given by lecturers approved by the University, and paid for by local committees, who select the subject of the lectures, provide the rooms, and secure the audience. The courses consist as a rule of units of six, twelve or sometimes twenty-four lectures, delivered at weekly or fortnightly intervals. They comprise subjects drawn from ancient and modern history and literature, natural science, political science, political economy, and art. The lecture lasts for one hour, and is preceded or succeeded by a class lasting as a rule for about half an hour, which is attended by those members of the audience who wish to study the subject in some detail, or to come into closer relation with the lecturer. The members attending the lectures vary from 30 or 40 in country towns to 1,000 in large industrial centres. At the end of the lecture questions are read out or distributed, to be answered at home by those members of the audience who are able and willing to do written work.

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[1] In this paragraph we quote freely, and as far as possible verbatim, from the Report of the Oxford University Extension Delegacy for 1907.

These answers are sent to the lecturer by post, and having been read and corrected by him are returned to the writer at the next week's class. Boxes of books are supplied to centres by the University Extension Delegacy. In their use of books the students are assisted by the printed syllabus, which gives an analysis of the lectures and provides lists of works recommended for private study. At the end of the course of lectures an examination is held by an examiner, other than the lecturer, who is appointed by the Extension Delegacy. Entrance to the examination is optional, and open to all students over fifteen years of age who have attended not less than two-thirds of the classes following each lecture of the course, and have written for the lecturer answers to two-thirds of the questions set by him. According to the report of the examiner certificates of two grades, or printed lists, are awarded to the successful candidates, and a prize is given to the student whose work, if worthy of 'distinction', is considered by the examiner to have shown the greatest merit. Terminal certificates are awarded only after courses of ten or twelve lectures; sessional certificates after a complete session's work. Examinations are permitted on shorter courses, but successful students receive, in place of a certificate, a copy of the examiner's award. The summer meetings (one month in duration), held in alternate years in Oxford and Cambridge, give Extension students an opportunity of hearing distinguished lecturers within the walls of a University.

55 The entire cost of University Extension, apart from the salary of the secretary and the expenses of the central office, is borne by the local centres in which the lectures are given, and is in no sense a charge upon Oxford. The fees payable by a centre to the University Extension Delegacy vary according to the grade of the lecturer employed. For a single course of twelve lectures the fee is:

For a Staff lecturer	£54	12	0
Class A lecturer	42	12	0
Class B lecturer	25	15	0

The rate is reduced for two lectures delivered in the same centre on the same day, and there is a further reduction for a federated group of five neighbouring centres employing a class A or a class B lecturer. The fees quoted include classes in addition to the lectures, the correction of not more than 30 written exercises, the loan of a travelling library (35–50 volumes), 100 copies of the printed syllabus, the examination of 21 candidates, the provision of certificates or printed lists, and a specially bound prize. They do not include the lecturer's travelling expenses, which are borne by the centre, nor expenses locally incurred by the local committee. The methods of raising the necessary funds is left by the Delegacy to the discretion of the local committee, and varies in different centres. In a very few, probably not more than six out of 138 in active work, the whole financial responsibility was (in 1906–7) assumed by the local education authority. In about twenty other centres the local education authority made a grant varying from 50 per cent. of the total expenses down to a small subscription, or to the free use of a hall for lectures. Apart, therefore, from the maintenance of the office of the Delegacy, which falls mainly on the University, University Extension is entirely supported by the fees of those attending the lectures and by local subscriptions. Unlike other teaching of a University standard, it is not helped by any endowments; but each student pays the full cost of what he receives, out of which the Delegacy has not only paid the lecturers' fees, but has also devoted a sum (about £2,500) to a Lecturers' and Officials' Benefit Fund. The charges borne by Oxford in connexion with the central office are given as follows in the accounts for 1907:—

Receipts from the University Chest . £535 0 0

The work of the University Extension Delegacy has been 56
successful in stimulating an interest in Higher Education among a large number of persons, especially women, who are unable to study in Universities. It has elicited hidden talent, and has given encouragement and guidance to many isolated students, a few of whom have been encouraged by the teaching given to prepare themselves for entering one or other of the Universities. It has spread knowledge of the subjects of University education, and has done something

to counteract the tendency to narrow and utilitarian views of adult training. Above all, by arousing local interest in intellectual matters, it has helped to lead to the establishment of Universities or Colleges, as at Sheffield and Nottingham in connexion with Cambridge, whilst Colleges at Exeter and Colchester have been a direct creation of Cambridge University Extension and that at Reading of Oxford University Extension.

(iii) *Reasons why the Oxford University Extension system has not yet supplied the education desired by workpeople.*

57 But, while the Delegacy has accomplished very valuable pioneer work in this way, it has not undertaken to supply the continuous tutorial teaching of a University standard which workpeople now desire, and we think that its work must be supplemented and reorganized in the manner recommended below (see § 88) before it can be considered even approximately to meet their needs.

58 There are three main disadvantages under which it labours.

Since the whole cost of the lectures given is borne by those attending them and by local subscriptions, centres in which workpeople predominate, and where it is particularly desirable that teaching should be given, find very great difficulty in raising the necessary funds. If workpeople are to attend courses of lectures regularly without making an unjustifiable financial sacrifice, they cannot be expected to pay more than a small fee, such as 1*s.* per course of twelve lectures. Hence, if a lecturer in Class A is employed, it is necessary that 852 persons should attend his lecture in order to raise the money necessary to pay the fee of £42 12*s.* which is charged by the Delegacy. In the words of the present secretary to the University Extension Delegacy, who is also a member of our Committee: 'So long as the system is compelled to be financially self-supporting, so long must the lecturer attract large audiences. It is no doubt possible for a centre to raise part of the funds which it needs by obtaining donations from wealthy individuals. But, even when such donations are forthcoming, there is natural objection among the working classes to being dependent upon patronage, and the task of obtaining them is so distasteful to all concerned that they cannot be considered a reliable source of income. In the absence of the endowments by which other University teaching is made possible, University Extension work can only be carried on by continuous efforts on the part of the local committees to secure an audience sufficiently large to pay the full cost of the lectures out of its fees.

The result is—first, that the numbers attending the lectures 59 make anything like tutorial instruction impossible in the case of those who do not attend the class held before or after the lecture; second, and more serious, that both the lectures and the subject to be studied must be chosen not solely or chiefly on account of their educative value, but with a view to the probability of their drawing such large numbers that the lectures will 'pay'. Success tends to be measured in terms of quantity, not of quality. If the numbers attending a course fall off, however educationally valuable it may be, it must give place to another which is more likely to draw a large audience; and as one consequence of this, there is sometimes evident a distressing desire on the part of local committees continually to attack new subjects, instead of mastering thoroughly an old one. From the information before us, we believe that this is not due to any ignorance on the part of the centres as to the importance of regular study on systematic lines—on the contrary, we think there is a growing demand for facilities for such study—but solely to the fact that their better judgement has to yield before irresistible financial considerations.

The second defect of the University Extension system, 60 as it is at present organized, is found in the fact that the teaching offered is not sufficiently systematic, and in particular that individual students rarely receive the personal guidance and supervision which is offered to an undergraduate in Oxford, and which is all the more necessary among workpeople because in an industrial city the means of knowledge—libraries, bookshops, and the atmosphere of culture—are less easy of access than they are in a University town. We have already stated that financial difficulties have often compelled centres to sanction or even to encourage a most regrettable discontinuity between the courses of lectures given. But we are of opinion that, even when this difficulty is removed, as we think it will be if the recommendations made below are adopted, yet it will still be essential for courses of study to be planned in a systematic manner, small classes to be instituted in addition to large audiences, and for the personal supervision of all the students to be a regular part of the duties of the teachers appointed. We reserve to another section (§ 88) a detailed description of the system which we recommend should be adopted among workpeople as a supplement to the unconnected courses of lectures to large numbers which have been the main type of instruction offered hitherto. But we may perhaps support our remarks on the defects of the present system of teaching by the friendly criticism of Professor M. E. Sadler, an ex-secretary and present member of the University Extension Delegacy: 'The defects of the system lie upon the surface. They consist in the frequent discontinuity between the subject of one course of lectures and the next, in the often precarious dependence of the work upon the fluctuating resources of the local committees, and in the lack of systematic class-work in the less effectively organized centres.'[1] The same criticism is implied in the words addressed by Sir Robert Morant, Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, to the Conference of the Workers' Educational Association held at Oxford in August, 1907: 'It is not mere lectures that are required, but real solid work.' We agree with him that, as a result of the valuable pioneer work done by the University Extension Delegacy in stimulating an interest in higher education, and of the great capacity and enthusiasm of many of the lecturers, the time has come when the present system should be modified and supplemented to make 'real solid work' on the part of the students in working-class centres, under tutorial guidance, and conducted upon a plan drawn up by representatives of workpeople and of the University, the main type of education offered. We do not desire to see the courses of the kind hitherto predominating done away with, as they let down a net which draws many persons to seek for further instruction, and inspire interest in those who, for one reason or another, are not yet prepared for more regular study. But we think that, as far as working-class centres are concerned, they should be recognized as merely subsidiary to the tutorial classes, whose establishment we recommend below in § 88. In our opinion, it is essential that the extra-mural students of Oxford should be given guidance as systematic as that given to those resident in the University.

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[1] *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, p. 78.

The University Extension system has been criticized not 61 only because the want of endowments makes it too expensive for the working classes, and its courses too little of a continuous education, but also for another and more fundamental reason. Hitherto, with some important exceptions, the lecturers employed by the Delegacy have not necessarily had that close connexion with teaching work at Oxford itself, for which we now desire to make permanent provision—a connexion which will also exercise a valuable effect on the audiences whom they teach. A University Extension lecturer should be recognized as being a teacher employed by the University and performing work of a kind as important, responsible, and difficult as any that is carried on in the University. A University Extension student, though by regularity in attending the courses and in writing papers he may win a certificate, is neither as yet stamped thereby with the hallmark of an educated man in the same way as is the recipient of even a Pass Degree at Oxford, nor enabled, if qualified for more advanced study, to pursue it in Oxford.

It is desirable that both lecturers and students should feel that 62 they share in the dignity which comes from belonging to an ancient academic body, and that their endeavours should win the same sympathy from Oxford which is given to work done within its walls. University Extension lecturers would thus obtain in a far greater degree the stimulus which comes from the criticism and co-operation of other University teachers, and would find it easier to maintain a high level in their teaching, while the students would be carried forward by the impetus derived from membership in a corporate body of learners. 'Teaching beyond the limits of the University' has hitherto been regarded as an alternative to the instruction given in Oxford itself; it implies for students a second-best which is offered to those who cannot proceed to the University; for lecturers a status which has not been put sufficiently on a level with that of University or College teachers.

63 While recognizing fully that to the majority of those who attend them University Extension lectures are the only kind of higher education which they will receive, we think, *first*, that at any rate, as far as working-class centres are concerned, it should be clearly laid down that it is a very important part of the work of University Extension to act, not as a substitute for study in Oxford, but to prepare men for it, and that its progress should be measured largely by its success in giving students the initial education needed to qualify them for future work in the University (see § 119). *Second*, that it is essential that the teachers of the tutorial classes under the scheme proposed below should be given a recognized status as members of the teaching body of the University, and be placed on the same academic footing as those who are teaching in Oxford. We think that this might be done by requiring them regularly to lecture in Oxford, as well as in the centres organized by the University Extension Delegacy. But we defer till later a full explanation of our proposals (see § 104).

64 In conclusion, we may say that we believe that if due attention is paid to the history of the University Extension movement, and an earnest attempt is made to build in the future on the experience of the past, it may ultimately become what its founders desired, one channel (though only one) for bringing University education of the highest and most systematic character within the reach of the working classes.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEMAND MADE BY WORKPEOPLE FOR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

WE believe, on reviewing the evidence which has been put 65 before us, that there has, in the course of the last twenty years, been a great increase in the capacity of workpeople to profit by a University education such as Oxford can supply, and in their desire to obtain it. Since a living University is not a self-contained and independent unit, but an organ of society growing with its growth and nourished by its vitality, its policy and internal organization must necessarily be in part controlled by developments which occur outside it, and which are independent of its own volition. We therefore make no apology for dwelling briefly on certain movements outside Oxford (familiar though these may be) which make it imperative to reconsider the relations at present existing between the University and Colleges of Oxford, and the large and important social groups whom, for the sake of brevity, we have described as 'workpeople'. We do so with the less hesitation, because we are of opinion that these movements contain elements which, were they brought into close touch with Oxford, would confer upon it benefits as great as they would derive from it.

The growing demand for a University education, which 66 undoubtedly exists among workpeople, is the result partly of state-supported elementary and secondary education, partly of their increasing interest in the graver problems of communal life, and in their consciousness that education alone can render the solution of these possible.

The direct contact between Oxford and the classes attending 67 the elementary schools which has existed hitherto, though no exact statistics are available, has probably been slight. Prior to 1870 she was bound by sympathy and tradition to schools which existed before, and stand apart from, the national system, and in order that she might get into touch with the new educational forces created in and after 1870, there was obviously need of time to allow of growth upon both sides. But though it has often been stated, and no doubt with considerable truth, that the direct effect upon Oxford of the creation of a national system of education has been comparatively small, the indirect effect has been enormous, though it is not until comparatively recent years that it has been felt; and, if Oxford is to continue as a living force in English education, it will undoubtedly be far greater in the future.

68 It is, of course, true that elementary education does not by itself prepare youths for studying in a University, and that one of the reasons why Oxford has failed to come into close contact with the classes who receive their early education in the public elementary schools is the backward condition of English secondary or 'continued' education. But it would nevertheless, in our opinion, be a great mistake to infer from the fact that most working-class lads pass straight from the primary school to the lathe or the bench, that therefore Oxford or any other University can afford to overlook the recent great improvement in elementary education as a matter which has no important bearing on her own educational outlook and policy. On the contrary, every change since 1870 which has made elementary education more widely diffused and more efficient—the abolition of school fees in 1891; the gradual raising of the school age by the Acts of 1893, 1899, and 1900; the laws limiting the still far too prevalent employment of children of school age; the co-ordination of elementary, secondary, and technical education begun by the Education Act of 1902; above all those developments which are not the result of legislation so much as of higher educational ideals, such as the much-needed diminution in the size of classes, the rising status of elementary teachers, and the growth of a popular demand for good literature and for public libraries—have added to the opportunities of Universities by adding to

the intellectual momentum of the whole nation. The improvement in elementary education is more and more making all classes aware of the objects for which Universities exist, and is supplying the basis of general capacity upon which Oxford, among others, should help to build. It has stimulated hopes and ambitions which it cannot by itself satisfy, and has taught men the existence of powers for whose full development they look to the Universities of the country. There is still much to be done in the schools before any very large proportion of the working classes will be qualified to benefit by a University education, *particularly in the direction of lengthening the period spent at school.* Whether or no it will continue to be the custom for the school life of the greater part of the people to end, as now, at or before fourteen, is a matter on which we express no opinion, though the example of Germany suggests possible changes, and though of course any prolongation of it would greatly facilitate the work of the Universities and of education generally. What we desire to emphasize here is that the elementary school system created in the last thirty-eight years, *in spite of the early age at which it terminates*, has *already* succeeded, firstly in supplying the basis of intelligence which makes a future training possible; secondly, in awakening the more thoughtful members of the working classes to a keen desire for advanced study under competent guidance—in short, for University education.

In considering how far the present policy of Oxford 69 requires to be modified by recent changes in the secondary schools, we are met by the difficulty that education other than elementary is at present in a state of transition, and that it is by no means clear upon what lines it will develop. The question which bears most directly upon the reference of this Committee is whether it will become usual for the majority of boys leaving the elementary schools to pass to a secondary school till the age of sixteen or seventeen before entering a trade as an artisan, or whether the secondary schools will be in practice confined to those (including, of course, the children of workpeople) who wish to enter a profession, while those who intend to become workmen, in the narrower sense of the word, will receive a continued education in some other manner.

70 In favour of the first alternative there is the resolution passed by (for example) the Trades Union Congress, to the effect that 'secondary and technical education should be an essential part of every child's education, and secured by such a reform and extension of the scholarship system as will place a maintenance scholarship within the reach of every child, and thus make it possible for all children to be full-time pupils up to the age of sixteen'. In accordance with the spirit of this resolution is the closer co-ordination of elementary and secondary education which followed upon the Education Act of 1902, the increase in the number of scholarships at public secondary schools given by local authorities, and the declaration[1] of the Board of Education that not less than 25 per cent. of the places in them are to be reserved, without payment of fees, for elementary school children.

71 It might therefore be argued, in view of these tendencies, that sooner or later it will become the normal thing for the children of the working classes to attend the secondary schools, and that it is therefore unnecessary for Oxford to take any special steps to get into touch with the working classes, because she will in time draw working-class lads straight from the public secondary schools in the same way as she draws them from the great endowed schools at the present day.

72 We mention this suggestion only to discard it, because it overlooks one fundamental element in the problem. At the present day it is the case, and as far as can be seen it will continue to be the case for many years to come, that the conditions of industrial life require lads to begin acquiring technical qualifications, in the workshop, certainly not later than sixteen years of age. Hence, those boys who are destined to be workmen in the ordinary acceptance of the term, even if they were in the future to attend secondary schools up to the age of sixteen, as suggested in the resolution quoted above, and as is eminently desirable, could not possibly pass directly from the secondary schools to Oxford,

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[1] Mr. McKenna in the House of Commons, August, 1907.

and therefore could not receive the teaching which Oxford offers without abandoning the learning of a trade and ceasing to be workmen. On consideration, therefore, of all the facts, we are obliged to dismiss as impracticable the suggestion that Oxford would fulfil her responsibility for the higher education of members of every class merely by establishing a closer connexion with the public secondary schools. Highly desirable though we believe such closer connexion to be in the interests of those who pass from such schools to professions—particularly to the professions of elementary or secondary teaching—we do not think that the development of secondary education has materially altered the problem with which Oxford is faced when it is desired that she should make some increased provision for the working classes. We return to this aspect of the problem in the sections on 'The function of a University in a democratic community (§ 79)', and in the recommendations referring to the establishment of tutorial classes (§ 119 ff.).

At the same time, we wish to state emphatically that, though 73 the formal education of the working classes at present stops with the elementary school, the informal education obtained by them through discussion in the workshop and at meetings of their societies is in itself an excellent preparation for study in a University. No one in Oxford is likely to underrate the value of the continual contact of mind with mind which goes on without formal instruction, and the great educational value of the training thus received by many members of the working classes, as well as the wide practical experience which many workmen obtain in comparatively early youth, must be borne in mind in considering the qualifications which they possess for receiving a University education.

The second reason for the growing demand of workpeople 74 for University education is to be found mainly in their increased interest in the problems of society and government, which is so marked a feature of modern English life.

As we have already pointed out in our summary of the 75 attempts made by workpeople to organize for themselves teaching suitable to their needs, a keen interest in education is among the more prosperous of them no new phenomenon. The common aspirations which produced the Trades Union and Co-operative movements have always created an atmosphere favourable to the ferment of ideas, and the earlier history of those movements offers many glimpses of artisans clubbing together 'to raise the standard of life among workpeople by means of education', 'to train men and women to take part in social and industrial reform,' or 'to teach man his inherent dignity and worth as a human being'. But there is a marked difference between these earlier movements, which were mainly sporadic and sectional in character, and the demand now made that all Universities should be organized, not as a matter of favour, but as a matter of right and social expediency, in such a manner as to be regularly and easily accessible to all sections of the community. The information which has been put before us shows clearly that workpeople will not be content with any substitute for University education, however excellent, which assumes that they will be unable to enter the Universities themselves. What they ask is that the Universities of the country should be treated as the apex of a single educational system, of which the foundation is the primary school. We quote as an illustration of this claim the resolution passed at the fortieth annual meeting of the Trades Union Congress: 'This Congress urges the organized workers to continue their efforts to secure Parliamentary and Municipal recognition of the Trades Union's education policy, which demands as essential to the well-being of our future citizens a national system of education under full popular control, free and secular, from the primary school to the University.'

76 Expressions of this nature, which could be paralleled from the declarations of representative bodies, such as the Independent Labour Party or the Social Democratic Party, and by the repeated statements of many individuals, show that education of the highest type given by Universities is not only appreciated by a few persons of peculiar gifts or enlightenment, but has entered the consciousness of large bodies of organized workpeople as an essential element in their conception of human welfare. In our opinion nothing could be

more encouraging for the future of English education than aspirations on the part of men and women whose social conditions might have been expected to afford little time for reflection upon the value of culture. Certainly no more magnificent compliment could be paid to English Universities than this public profession in their potential value to the working population, which would seem in itself to lay upon them the obligation of amending at once any part of their system which may be a stumbling-block to those who so sincerely believe in them.

Moreover, we consider that at the present moment the 77 appeal of workpeople to the Universities can claim an urgency which it may be held formerly not to have possessed. The demand that the Universities shall serve all classes derives much additional significance from changes which are taking place in the constitution of English society and in the distribution of political power. The most conspicuous symptoms of such changes to which we refer have been the growth of Labour Representation in the House of Commons and on Municipal bodies, the great increase in the membership of political associations which claim to express the ideals of at least a considerable section of the working classes, the increasing interest taken by trade unions, which till recent years were purely industrial organizations, in political action, and the growing demand for a widening in the sphere of social organization. As to the advantages and disadvantages of these developments, we, of course, express no opinion. But their effect has certainly been both to foster a ferment of ideas in classes where formerly it did not exist and to make it imperative that they should obtain the knowledge necessary to enable them to show foresight in their choice of political means. We are of opinion that, as a result of these changes, all educational authorities, and Universities above all others, are confronted with problems to which they are bound to give continuous and serious attention. Oxford, in particular, which stands for the contact of ideas with the whole of life, has a special interest in the new situation which has been created.

It has always been the privilege of the older Universities 78 (though, of course, not to the exclusion of the new) to train men for all departments of political life and public administration. Throughout the nineteenth century a considerable proportion of those who, as ministers or members of Parliament, or public officials, wielded great influence, have received their earliest education in political ideas at the hands of Oxford, and have acknowledged freely that they have learned through it to be more efficient servants of the community. The Trade Union secretary and the 'Labour member' need an Oxford education as much, and will use it to as good ends, as the civil servant or the barrister. It seems to us that it would involve a grave loss both to Oxford and to English political life were the close association which has existed between the University and the world of affairs to be broken or impaired on the accession of new classes to power. No doubt other Universities have done something in the past, and will do more in the future, to provide higher education for the working classes, and we are far from suggesting that the burden and privilege of making such provision should rest solely or even mainly upon Oxford. But we are strongly of opinion that recent political developments make it imperative that in her own interests, as much as in the interests of workpeople, it should be made possible for a far larger number to turn to her for teaching than have done so in the past. In the words of a paper read at the Conference of the Workers' Educational Association, held last year in Oxford, by Mr. Sidney Ball, Fellow of St. John's College: 'Changes in the structure of English society are throwing more and more responsibility on the shoulders of men who have had no opportunity of obtaining the synoptic mind which, as Plato says, is desirable in governors.' We might add, to give the other side of the picture, that the increasing complexity of industrial organization, and the growing tendency of different classes to live in different quarters of the same town, or even in different towns, is making it increasingly difficult for the various sections of the community to appreciate each other's circumstances or aspirations. In modern life there is much which tends to the separation of classes, and little which brings them together. For this reason it seems important that the leaders of every class should have an opportunity of obtaining a wide outlook on the historical development and economic condition of the whole English community, such as is given by a University education.

Having sketched briefly the main changes in the organization of education and in society which explain the demands now being made that Oxford should establish a closer connexion with the working classes, we conclude this part of our report by stating summarily the requirements which a University must satisfy in a democratic community, and which ought, we think, to be carefully borne in mind in Oxford: 79

(1) A modern university must be accessible to every class, not merely in the formal sense that it admits every applicant of good character who satisfies its educational requirements, but in the practical sense of making it certain that no one will be excluded merely on the ground of poverty. Religious tests were abolished at the older Universities some thirty years ago, and the step is usually held to have been a wise one. But to the majority of the working classes who are in receipt of incomes of less than £80 per annum, a system which excludes a student because his parents' means are small appears indistinguishable in effect from one which excludes him because his parents are Roman Catholics or Nonconformists; and if their reasonable wishes are to be met, it would seem necessary to increase the already existing provision for bringing men of small means to share the benefits of a University education, and, in Oxford, of collegiate life. 80

(2) In order to obtain the University education which they desire, it must not be necessary for workpeople to leave the class in which they were born. This is a point to which we attach the greatest importance. It is, of course, most desirable that youths who have some special gifts, for example, for scholarship, or medicine, or law, should obtain the opportunity for cultivating them to the full, and there have been several memorable cases in which assistance, given by Oxford colleges, has enabled the sons of poor parents to rise to high 81

positions, both in Oxford and in the outside world. But we believe it would be very unfortunate, and we are confident that it would not be welcomed by the working classes, were the democratizing of University education taken merely to mean that exceptionally fortunate or exceptionally talented individuals should obtain the means of achieving personal success, of however excellent a kind. The ideal expressed in John Milton's definition of education as 'that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the duties of all offices', is one which is, we think, very deeply embedded in the minds of the working classes, and we attribute part of the failure of Higher Education among them in the past to the feeling that by means of it their ablest members were being removed to spheres where they would not be available for the service of their fellows. What they desire is not that men should escape from their class, but that they should remain in it and raise its whole level. They do not wish, like the Scottish ploughman of fifty years ago, that their sons should be made by a University education into ministers or school masters, but that they should, on public bodies, or in trade union offices, or in the workshop, speak fearlessly for those whom want of education has in the past too often condemned to silence and impotence. In the words of a letter forwarded by an important Labour Organization to the Workers' Educational Association, 'Each child should be taught that the aim of Education is not material self-advancement—that he should get on and rise out of his class, but that he may be enabled to take his part in the uplifting of his class and the community in general.' This ideal of loyalty to their order, which has led many workmen to sacrifice their material prospects, seems to us a noble one, and one which Oxford should help to foster. We have already mentioned this point in speaking of secondary education, and we state later in greater detail the positions which it seems to us that the education offered by Oxford would fit workmen to fill without either leaving their own people or allowing their talents to rust.

82 (3) Any organization of Higher Education which is based on the assumption that education of a 'general' kind is

desired or needed only by those entering the professions, while technical education alone is suitable for persons engaged in manual labour is fundamentally mistaken. It is, of course, true that the education of the majority of the former may be predominantly of the 'general' kind, while that of the majority of the latter may be predominantly 'technical'. But technical and general education ought not to be distinguished on the ground that they are fit for different classes, but because they stimulate different sides of the same individual; and in our opinion a man who will throughout life work with his hands needs a general education for precisely the same reason that it is needed by a specialist like a lawyer, or a doctor, in order that he may be a good citizen, and play a reasonable part in the affairs of the world. Manual labour (except when accompanied by undue pressure) does not in any way disqualify a man for receiving such an education, and indeed the whole principle involved in the absolute distinction which is sometimes made between physical and intellectual work is open to the objection that it rests upon an unsound psychology. The truth is that the education of every class must keep two objects in view, because in a democratic community every man and woman stands in a twofold relationship to the rest of society. On the one hand, as a workman, whether with head or hand, he must obtain the technical qualifications needed to maintain him in independence, or to advance him in life. On the other hand, as a member of a self-governing nation he must acquire the civic qualities which enable him to co-operate with his fellows, and to judge wisely on matters which concern not only himself, but the whole country to which he belongs. In the words of a workman, a student and a Trade Unionist, 'the education required is not a mere bread-and-butter education, which will only make the worker into a more efficient wealth producer. It may be very good for the commercial prosperity of the nation that our workmen should be higher skilled and more capable than their brethren in America or in Germany, but when education has merely made a man into a better workman, it has not done all that it can for him, nor all that he has a right to expect. The time has come for the working man to demand a share in the education which is called "liberal" because it concerns life, not livelihood; because it is to be desired for its own sake, and not because it has any direct bearing upon his wage-earning capacity. By the avenues of Art, Literature, and History, it gives access to the thoughts and ideals of the ages; its outward mark is a broad reasoned view of things and a sane measure of social values; in a word, it stands for culture in its highest and truest sense. This "liberal" education should be a common heritage. But in this, as in many other things, the working class has been for long a disinherited class, and the national Universities, which are the natural fountain-heads of national culture, have been regarded as the legitimate preserves of the leisured class. This state of things has not only wronged the working class; it has to a great degree sterilized the Universities themselves.' These words show admirably the nature of the education for which the working classes are now asking Universities, and we see no reason at all to fear that by acceding to their request Oxford would tend to make the education which she gives less 'humane'.

83 (4) In the fourth place we desire to state that the task of meeting the needs of new classes of students is one which cannot, except with great detriment to education, be deferred until an organized demand arises (as it has now arisen) outside the University. We have already stated our opinion that Universities should provide for members of every class the higher education which they need, and it appears to us to be a necessary corollary of this that they should exercise as careful a supervision over the educational and social developments which are going on outside themselves, as they do at present over their own internal teaching and organization. It may be prophesied that at no distant date it will be one of the recognized functions of a University to watch local educational experiments and to inquire carefully into the educational needs and facilities of every class—in short, not only to follow at a distance, but to anticipate and even to evoke a demand for teaching of a University standard. When the great mass

of the working population could neither read nor write, and when secondary education was confined to a few score endowed schools, it was possible for Universities to draw to themselves most of those qualified to benefit by their teaching, without any further attempt at organization than that already implied in the customary connexion of Oxford and Cambridge with the endowed secondary schools—itself, be it noted, the result of very careful, if not always judicious, adjustment on the part of a long succession of pious founders and benefactors. But in the last thirty years a great change has overtaken the social and educational system of England; new classes are pushing upwards with new needs; teachers are asking for University degrees, artisans for University education with or without a degree; in a multitude of new professions—engineering, mining, scientific agriculture—(whose needs are already recognized by Oxford)—and in many branches of commerce, a general education in the principles of the Political Sciences is recognized as an indispensable necessity for a career of public service. As a result of these changes, it has become incumbent upon Universities to watch carefully every sign that a new class is ready to receive their guidance, in order that the seed of University culture may be deposited wherever it has suitable material on which to work. What these facts point to is the need that Oxford should possess an organized department for special educational inquiry,[1] similar to that in existence at the Board of Education, where reports upon educational and social movements may be accumulated, and where its governing bodies may turn for authoritative information when confronted by any new demand. This department would exercise over the classes of persons desiring to enter the University a supervision similar to that exercised by the existing appointments committee over those leaving it. We recognize to the full the work already done on these lines by different delegacies, but we think that a centralized bureau of information would be of invaluable service to Oxford and to national education.

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[1] We understand that such a department has been established at University College, Bristol.

84 (5) The fifth respect in which it appears to us that the participation of all classes in public life makes a new departure desirable is that of the direct representation of workpeople upon some of the governing bodies of the University. This has already been established at certain of the newer Universities (e.g. Birmingham), where both business men and workpeople, who represent the views of the consumer of University education, co-operate in determining its policy and development. We may quote the words of the Principal of University College, Bristol, in support of it: 'With regard to the relations of working men to the University, he thought they should certainly have representatives directly upon the University Court. . . . It was for the workers themselves to express themselves, to say what representation they want. . . . He felt that they should aim at getting on their governing body any man of tact and power from any class.'

85 We are not at present prepared to go in our suggestions beyond the recommendation made below, that the direction of University teaching, in as far as it relates to the working classes, should be in the hands of a committee consisting of an equal number of workpeople and University representatives. But we attach great importance to the principle of direct representation, and we desire to see it extended for the following reasons: (*a*) The presence of leading members of working-class organizations is invaluable on account of the personal contributions of knowledge and suggestion which they can offer. This report is a striking example of our statement. (*b*) It secures the confidence and co-operation of large bodies of men who might otherwise be inclined to distrust Oxford. (*c*) It gives workmen a very valuable insight into the working of University institutions—a knowledge which, through them, may be widely diffused throughout the nation.

CHAPTER V

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TUTORIAL CLASSES BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THE UNIVERSITY

86 HAVING considered the nature of the demand put forward by workpeople for University education, and the attempts which have already been made to meet it, we now proceed to state the lines upon which future advance appears to us to be desirable and practicable. In our opinion they are to be found—(1) by the establishment in industrial towns of classes specially adapted to the needs of workpeople, and of the character described below. (2) In the provision of machinery for ensuring that a proportion of the working-class students in such classes may pass regularly and easily to Oxford to study in the University itself, and to share the benefits of collegiate life.

87 We desire to emphasize very strongly the fact that these two reforms are closely connected with each other, and that neither of them, if divorced from the other, will achieve the purpose stated in our terms of reference. In particular, we hold that it must be the first object of the system which we contemplate, not to act as a substitute for study and residence in Oxford itself, but to lead up to these and to make them profitable to an increased number of students. There is no doubt that working-class opinion is inclined to the view that Oxford has been far too much in the past the exclusive possession of the wealthier sections of the community, and that it would resent any proposal which did not create a broad avenue along which intelligent workmen could proceed to Oxford. Indeed, to make such proposals at all would be to court failure. At the same time, we believe that the discontinuous nature of much of the work done under the auspices of the University Extension Delegacy has been due,

in part, to the fact that there was not sufficient contact between the teacher and student and the University. Our two proposals, therefore, must in our opinion stand or fall together. We will now deal with them separately.

The Tutorial Class.

88 Our first proposal is that in certain selected industrial towns classes should be established, of not more than thirty students; that these classes should pursue a plan of study drawn up by workpeople and representatives of the University in consultation; that Oxford should appoint and pay half the salary of the teachers by whom such classes are taught; and that such teachers should receive a status as a lecturer in Oxford, appointed either by a college or by the University. The points in this recommendation calling for detailed explanation are: (1) the organization and membership of the classes; (2) the curricula and methods of study; (3) the character and status of the teachers; (4) the relation of the classes to Oxford; (5) the financial arrangements; (6) the authority responsible for organizing working-class education.

(i) *The Organization and Membership of the Classes.*

89 The organization of the classes, while it can be greatly facilitated and encouraged by Oxford, must in the first instance rest upon a strong belief among representative workpeople that these classes will meet their needs and are worthy of their whole-hearted support. Hence, before any such class can be formed, it is essential that a representative body of workpeople should have expressed their desire for it and determination to do their share in making it a success. That this may be assured, it is desirable to start classes of the kind recommended only in those centres where there exists a working-class organization willing and able to maintain its membership, and to make part of the necessary financial provision. Where a branch of the Workers' Educational Association exists, it would be the natural body to undertake the work. Where it does not exist, it would be necessary to rely upon the co-operation of other working-class associations, such as Trade Unions and

Trades Councils, Friendly Societies, and Co-operative Societies. The assistance of the Local Education Authority should always be invited. It would be the duty of the body thus formed, whether it is identical with the class, or whether the class is organized by it, to make itself responsible for the regular attendance of members, to appoint a secretary to act as correspondent between it and the University, the Board of Education, and the Local Education Authority, to fix the terms of membership in the class, to have a voice in selecting the teacher offered by Oxford, to make its work known in the district, and generally to bear the considerable burden of administrative routine which will be necessary. The account of the work of the Rochdale Class and Education Guild given in Appendix vi will show how greatly such work expands after it has been in existence even a comparatively short time.

90 The first advantage of throwing the local management of these classes into the hands of a body representing work-people is that it ensures that the education offered will meet the needs of workpeople. We do not, of course, mean to imply that Oxford should 'tune her pulpits' to meet the view of any class. But it is undoubtedly the case that workpeople feel, and feel with justice, that there are certain departments of knowledge in which something more than the best academic training is needed for the attainment of comprehensive and impartial views; and they are sometimes inclined to suspect teachers of displaying in these subjects an unconscious class bias. We may illustrate our meaning by an extract from a letter from the Barry branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, which sent a representative to the conference of workpeople held last summer at Oxford, and which, after considering his report, forwarded the following resolution to the secretary of the Workers' Educational Association: 'That it is inexpedient for the Working Classes to cultivate a closer relationship with Oxford by University Extension Lectures, or any other methods, until the teachings of the Universities are radically altered, so that a truer view of social questions may be taught, and that it is inadvisable to send working-men students to colleges unless the curriculum is made

suitable for the training of Labour Leaders.' One way of meeting the sentiment expressed in this resolution is to give a controlling voice in the selection of a teacher to a representative body of workmen, and to co-operate with them in their efforts to obtain what they want, instead of providing, without consulting them, what the University thinks they ought to want. The whole history of the University Extension movement shows that higher education cannot be imposed upon workpeople from above, but must be organized and managed by men who belong to themselves, and whom they have learned to trust in other capacities. This is, in our opinion, a fundamental axiom, the neglect of which will be followed by certain failure. We have no fear at all that were the classes placed, as we recommend, under the direct control of workpeople, in co-operation with University men, they would be used for any but the highest educational ends.

91 Moreover, there is another reason why their control should be vested in workpeople themselves, namely, the great impetus which such a step would give to the dissemination of a desire for education among the working classes. The genius of English workmen for organization has covered some of the districts of northern England (for example, Lancashire) with a network of institutions, industrial, social, political, and religious. They have been much less influenced than other classes by the individualism of the early nineteenth century, and there are certain towns in which almost every adult appears to a stranger to be connected with half a dozen different associations. It is obvious that the common atmosphere thus created is favourable, like that of an Oxford college, to the dissemination of ideas. If a class is formed under the control of members of working-class societies, its influence filters through a hundred different channels, and may leaven a whole town. Every member of it is a missionary of education in a continually expanding field, and spreads habits of criticism and reflection among his fellows in a way that is impossible if education is organized simply from above. We therefore recommend that, prior to the establishment in any new locality of the special type of

class which we contemplate, a conference be summoned and a committee established representative of all shades of working-class and educational opinion, in whose hands the local management of the class shall be vested. In this work, the Workers' Educational Association will usually be found of the greatest assistance.

(ii) *Curriculum and Methods of Study.*

While the management and organization of the class should 92
be mainly in the hands of workpeople, the selection of curricula and guidance in reading must be the duty of the University acting in co-operation with workpeople. We attach great importance to the adoption of regular courses of study, consisting of different parts leading into each other and grouped round some central idea. Hitherto, in spite of efforts to the contrary, University Extension work has been far too discontinuous. Partly owing to the financial exigency under which centres have lain of choosing a subject which will pay its way by attracting large audiences, and of abandoning it when it ceases to pay, it has frequently happened that succeeding courses of lectures have had little or no connexion with each other, so that students have passed too rapidly from one subject to another. The financial arrangements which we recommend below (see § 117) will in part obviate these defects. We think, in addition, that Oxford, in co-operation with workpeople, should draw up courses of study in certain subjects, such as Political Science, Economics, History, and Literature (see Appendix vii), which would guide students in their reading. It is suggested that the limit of time over which a class should extend should be at least two years, a period in which it should be possible to get a fairly comprehensive view of the main principles of at least one of the subjects studied. It is probable that the subjects which will commend themselves to the majority of classes established will be those connected with the study of society. Partly owing to the fact that at the present time higher education appeals to workpeople not primarily as a method of personal culture or distinction, but as an avenue

along which their class can pass to a broader life, partly because their daily experience gives them an insight into the working of human motives and into economic conditions, they have a natural aptitude for the study of political and economic science. We therefore think that the courses of study should be drawn up so as to approach the study of human institutions from different points of view. At the same time full provision should be made for those whose tastes lead them to prefer literature, and we think that the two years' course of study which is intended, as we explain below (§ 119), to qualify students for residence in Oxford, should be drawn up so as to include students taking two years of History, Political Science, Economics, or Literature, or one year of any two. We give in Appendix vii specimen courses which will show fully the kind of way in which we think these subjects may best be approached by workpeople.

93 The best explanation which we can give of the actual methods to be adopted in these classes themselves is contained in the report of the class in Industrial History which was carried on during the last session at Rochdale under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association and of the University Extension Delegacy (see Appendix vi). The class consisted of forty-three students, made up of two or three teachers and clerks, four ladies, and about thirty-three or thirty-four artisans and labourers. It met every Saturday afternoon from 2.30 to 4.30, an hour being given to the lecture, and an hour to discussion and questions by members of the class. Papers were done every fortnight by the students, to whom the teacher gave, as far as time permitted, individual attention and supervision. The members of the class each bought the textbooks recommended; while additional books were obtained, though in very insufficient numbers, by means of book boxes sent out by Oxford and by the Fabian Society. Reading circles were formed with a view to preparation for the class, and for the future study of the problems raised in it.

94 The following points call for special notice in connexion with the method of study adopted :—

(1) The limited size of the class. Valuable though lectures to

audiences of more than one hundred persons may be in stimulating interest and attracting genuine students, they are necessarily, when taken by themselves, of very little real educational value. They make the lecturer into an orator, and the audience into a public meeting. It has so long been recognized that almost the gravest evil under which elementary education suffers in this country is the far too large size of the class, that it is unnecessary to do more than point out that the more advanced the subject taught and the more capable the student, the more important is it that he should not be allowed to sit passive as one among a crowd, but should have ample opportunity for questioning the teacher. In our opinion, even a class of forty is considerably too large, and where forty or fifty students are anxious to join the class, it is better to divide them into two groups, of twenty-five each, even in spite of the fact that the expense would thereby be doubled. By this means the problems arising from the differences between students in knowledge and intellectual capacity would be solved, and the teacher would be able to meet in a tutorial capacity these individual difficulties, go through the written work with them in detail, and guide them in the choice of books.

95 It will usually be found that, when a class, such as we suggest, is instituted for the first time, the number of students sufficiently advanced to make full use of the teaching offered certainly does not exceed thirty. In that case, only one tutorial class should be established under an Oxford teacher. But it should be considered part of his official duties to ascertain the names of those who, while not yet fit for the class, take an interest in improving their education along the lines laid down, and to persuade them to form among themselves a preparatory class, which may lead them to more advanced work. In the course of time, if our proposals are adopted, the problem of finding suitable teachers for such preparatory classes, which is now a serious one, will be solved by the presence in different industrial centres of workmen who have received an education in Oxford. It may then be possible, as it is now desirable, for it to be made a condition of a student's admission to the tutorial class that he shall

have prepared himself for it by preliminary study of a less advanced kind. For the present we must content ourselves with the recommendations that the tutorial class should not contain more than thirty students, and that, wherever practicable, the establishment of a tutorial class shall be accompanied by the simultaneous formation of a preparatory class to lead up to it. At the same time, we wish to express our opinion that very valuable work has been done by means of the Extension Lectures given to large audiences, and that such lectures should be continued in the centres where the small classes, such as we recommend, are established.

96 (2) The second feature of the class organized at Rochdale was the close personal relationship between the students and the teacher. This has been already emphasized in speaking of the advantage of a small class, and its indispensability in any sound system of education is so obvious that we need not dwell upon it, further than to emphasize the importance of selecting the right type of teacher. To this matter we return later.

97 (3) The third point to which we call attention in the methods to be followed by the tutorial classes is the principle of continuity of study. It is highly important that all students should feel education to be a business which must be taken as seriously as their daily work, more seriously than some kinds of work, and that they should consider themselves under an honourable engagement to allow it to be interrupted by nothing short of actual necessity. In Rochdale, the students who were admitted to the class, signed a declaration that they would attend it for two years.

98 (4) It is important that all members of the class should engage in regular reading at home, or in co-operation with other students, and that they should regard such reading as a part of the implicit engagement which they make on entering into the class. We are well aware of the great difficulties which beset the working-class student—the lack of books, the crowded home, the often exhausting and mechanical labour, the fear of unemployment that too often absorbs his thoughts, the inroads upon his scanty leisure made by unregulated overtime, the breaking of this

leisure by irregular hours of employment, the numerous duties to his own class, which claims him as trade unionist, or co-operator, or local politician in almost ceaseless propaganda. We have known students to sit up not once, but regularly, completing an essay, till 1 o'clock at night, and enter the mill next day at 6.30; or to attend classes on Saturday afternoon after a week containing twelve hours of overtime over and above the standard fifty-three hours. But the regular reading of selected books is absolutely essential, if the classes are to be of any value at all; and therefore, though fully conscious of the difficulties of workmen students, we must still insist that all experience shows that those who attend the class must somehow or other find time for private study. The example of Rochdale and of other centres encourages us to hope that the difficulties in the way of such study may be overcome by the enthusiasm of the students.

(5) The example of Rochdale shows the importance of organizing a system by which a really large supply of books may be placed at the disposal of students. A man who is supporting a family on twenty-four shillings a week cannot afford, and ought not to be expected to buy, more than one or two inexpensive textbooks, which should certainly not be the student's staple food. The chief sources from which books can be obtained are local libraries, and boxes of books supplied by the Oxford Extension Delegacy, and one or two societies, such as the Fabian Society. The statutory limitation of the library rate to one penny in the pound places a severe handicap on students who live in towns, such as Longton, where the rateable value is small. It seems to us that the supply of travelling libraries by Oxford must necessarily be the chief means by which expensive and indispensable works are brought within the reach of students, that in future part of the library at the disposal of the Oxford Delegacy should be specially appropriated to the use of the tutorial classes, and that the supply of standard works which Oxford can lend in return for a small payment should be greatly increased. It would be a graceful act on the part of such colleges (if any) as do not make any other financial 99

contribution towards the scheme suggested, to grant the Standing Committee of the Delegacy whose appointment we recommend, a sum of money to be spent on amassing the nucleus of a library.

(6) Finally, we think it desirable that the classes should be visited and reported on every term by a member of the Standing Committee, which will thus be enabled to keep in close touch with the work at every stage.

(iii) *The Duties, Qualifications, and Status of the Teacher.*

100 We attach the greatest importance to the selection of the teacher or tutor, and consequently to the precise definition of his duties and status. His first duty will naturally be to assist the class in its course of study by the delivery of lectures, and we propose that he should give twenty-four lectures per session to each class. At the same time the delivery of lectures will not be the most important or difficult part of his work, nor that which will absorb most of his time. He will be required to become personally acquainted with the students under him, and, if possible, to see them outside the class, in their homes or elsewhere. In dealing with their papers, he must not only 'correct' them, but must make full comments and criticism, and supplement these by interviewing the students individually, or in groups of three or four together. He should find time to guide their reading, appreciate and sympathize with the point of view from which they approach the subject, and, in short, act as far as possible, the part of an Oxford tutor who is dealing with honour students in such a subject as History or Philosophy. He should assist the local body in organizing a preparatory class to lead up to the tutorial class, and help the teacher of this preparatory class with his advice. Finally, he should, so far as possible, make himself acquainted with the industrial conditions of the locality or localities in which he is stationed.

101 It is obvious that if these duties are to be adequately performed, the teacher must be a man with sound academic qualifications. He is not required to address large audiences, but he must have sufficient self-possession to be able to

express himself clearly to critical listeners, and to handle the questions put to him in the hour's discussion which follows the lectures. But he must not only be able to guide and stimulate his students; he should also have sufficient knowledge of working-class life and habits of thought to be able to understand the lines along which students have reached their conclusions, and see the unstated assumptions from which their questions start. It too often happens that a teacher with a good knowledge of his subject and the gift of expression fails almost entirely when confronted with a working-class audience, because he has started from a point of view so different from theirs as to make it impossible for the minds of students and teachers ever to come into real contact with each other. The things he regards as important have seemed to them trivial, and he has never really touched the problems upon which their minds are exercised, perhaps never read the books through which alone they have approached the subject. Every teacher of economics, for example, who has lectured to a working-class audience, must have been for the moment at a loss when confronted with unfamiliar formulae on the lips of men to whom they seem exactly to answer all their problems. In the same way, working-class audiences who listen for the first time to economics being taught by a University man have an uncomfortable feeling of being played with by a clever dialectician.

It is desirable, therefore, that in appointing the teachers of 102
the tutorial classes, attention should be paid, not only (*a*) to their academic qualifications, as at present, but also (*b*) to their experience of industrial conditions among the working class. Though we do not desire to lay down any general conditions of appointment to be universally applied, we think that, as a rule, teachers should be selected from among those who have had previous experience of teaching workpeople either at Ruskin College, or at Social Settlements, or in connexion with the Workers' Educational Association, or in some other way, and should satisfy the standing committee that they possess the desired qualifications.

103 Passing to the status and remuneration of the teacher we recommend (1) that the teacher be paid £80 per unit of twenty-four classes, or when in full work £400 per session of twenty-four weeks, together with travelling expenses (for suggestions as to how the money should be raised see § 114 below). (2) That the teacher be given an academic status in Oxford by being employed regularly as Lecturer for a college or for the University. We think that as a variant upon this, the normal arrangement, Oxford tutors might sometimes themselves conduct one or more classes outside Oxford of the kind which we contemplate.

104 To the second recommendation, which is designed to create a new class of teachers in Oxford, we attach considerable importance for the following reasons:

105 *First*. The fact that the tutorial classes were being conducted by a man who was at the same time performing work of an official kind in Oxford itself would bind these classes closely to the University, and would give the students confidence in the qualifications of their teachers.

106 *Second*. By being required as part of his duties to teach regularly in Oxford, the teacher would be saved to a considerable extent from dropping into slipshod and unacademic habits of thought and expression. It is extremely difficult for a man who is engaged for the half of the year in lecturing to an unacademic, often highly appreciative audience, to prevent himself from insensibly lowering his tone, dropping behind the work which is being done in his subject, and in short from losing the scholar in the lecturer. But the whole plan of these tutorial classes rests on the assumption that the teaching given shall be of a University level, and we therefore think it important that the teacher should be brought regularly into contact with the critical atmosphere of Oxford.

107 *Third*. The teachers of classes in industrial towns will have opportunities of informing themselves at close quarters with regard to important industrial problems, which cannot be studied so well in Oxford, or indeed in any place which does not offer ample opportunities for the observation of the methods and organization of modern industry. The experience

thus obtained should be of invaluable service to them in vitalizing and broadening their teaching at Oxford, and should tend to introduce a new and very valuable element into the political and economic instruction given at Oxford itself. Workpeople who reflect on the attitude adopted in the past by academic economists towards those problems which specially concern them, such as those connected, to take one instance, with Trade Unions, are frequently disposed to blame Oxford and other Universities for having neglected to put themselves in close communication with leaders of working-class thought, and to consider that the teaching given by Universities has sometimes unconsciously misrepresented the facts of industrial life. Whether this is so or not, it is at all events eminently desirable that all points of view should be represented in the economic school of a University, that of the working classes among others; and we think that for this reason, if for no other, it would be a wise step to make regular teaching in Oxford itself a definite part of the duties of the tutors whom we desire to see appointed.

Fourth. If University Extension work is accompanied by 108 a recognized status in Oxford itself, the teachers employed will have far better prospects of obtaining Professorial Chairs and other posts of dignity and emolument, with the result that the ablest men will tend to offer themselves for the work.

Fifth. The presence in Oxford of the teachers of the 109 tutorial classes will give undergraduates an opportunity of obtaining a knowledge of industrial conditions, which it is much to be desired they should possess.

(iv) *The Relation of the Classes to the University.*

We have already stated that workpeople will not be content, 110 and in our opinion ought not to be content, with anything less than the creation of a broad avenue leading not only children but adults of their own class to Oxford. It follows from this that the success of the tutorial classes established in industrial towns must depend on a full recognition that their main object is to prepare men for study in the University itself.

111 With a view to the attainment of this end, we propose--

(i) that a special certificate be awarded, under the authority of the University Extension Delegacy, on the work, attendance, and proficiency of the students, after a report from the teacher and two University representatives, nominated by the standing committee (see § 118 below) for the purpose; and that the students' capacity should be tested mainly by examination of the essays written by them during the two years' course.

112 (ii) That the certificate be such as is likely to satisfy the requirements of the Committee for Economics (or other similar committees), for the admission of students not members of the University to Diploma courses. This recommendation has reference to the fact that the statutes of the University require students admitted to Diploma courses to prove that they have a 'good general education'. The character of this education is not defined; but we understand that it has been the practice to require the knowledge of at least one foreign language. We consider that such a condition would be onerous in itself, and likely to diminish the real educational attainments of students wishing to approach Diploma courses through the tutorial classes. It was felt that the amount of linguistic knowledge acquired under such conditions would tend to be small and ineffective, that the time spent in acquiring it would be a heavy tax on the time available in the case of working-class students, and that there would be a serious risk of lowering the standard of knowledge in other subjects. For these and like reasons we adopted the following resolution, which we understand the Committee for Economics is prepared to accept:—

'That the Committee beg leave to express their opinion, that if a sufficiently high standard is required in any two of such subjects as literature, political science, economics, and modern history, and in the power of correct expression, this will fully answer the demand of the Committee for Economics for a good general education, and that such an interpretation will do much to bring the University into touch with the leaders of working-class opinion.'

113 (iii) That there be established in Oxford a Diploma course

in Political Science, either as a part of, or parallel to, the Diploma course in Economics. We believe that the establishment of such a course of study at Oxford would be a powerful stimulus to working-class students, and would be in harmony with the best traditions of the University. We understand that the Committee for Economics is considering a scheme for giving effect to this proposal.

(v) *The Cost of Establishing the Tutorial Classes.*

The expenses incurred in establishing the Tutorial classes 114
which are one part of our proposals will include –

(i) The salary and travelling expenses of the teacher.
(ii) The cost of books.
(iii) The cost of obtaining rooms (when they are not lent).
(iv) The cost of correspondence and organization.

Of these, the last two items will be borne entirely by the 115
local organization arranging the classes, and need only be mentioned here in order to make clear that the members of the class will have to meet calls upon their money over and above those involved in the part payment of the teachers.

With regard to (iii) we have already stated our opinion (§ 99) 116
that it is desirable that the Standing Committee which is to be appointed should increase the travelling library available for the use of the centres, and that colleges might with advantage be asked to make grants towards this purpose.

With regard to (i), the salary and travelling expenses of the 117
teacher, we think that the maximum amount which the local centre can be asked to contribute will amount to £40. This sum will be raised partly out of the fees paid by students, partly out of the grants made by the Board of Education, the Local Education Authority, Educational Trusts, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Clubs, and other working-class organizations. (See Appendices iii, iv, and v for a detailed statement of these sources.) The travelling expenses of the teacher, and the £40 which is the other half of his salary for taking one course of twenty-four classes (that is, £200 for taking five courses), is the share which we ask from Oxford. We recommend that

the colleges be approached with the request that they will provide the money necessary to maintain the teachers for whom we anticipate there will be work in the near future. By this means Oxford would realize the wish of Jowett that 'outposts of the University should be established in the industrial towns',[1] and would be giving the initial impetus to what should ultmately become a widespread national movement.

(vi) *The Authority Responsible for Organizing Working-Class Education.*

118 We recommend that a permanent committee be constituted to deal with the education of workpeople, both in and outside Oxford. This committee should consist of seven representatives of the University and seven representatives of working-class institutions and organizations appointed through the Workers' Education Association; any representative of Ruskin College would naturally be included among the latter. Its duties will be to make all arrangements with regard to the establishment and maintenance of the tutorial classes, to raise the necessary funds for carrying them on, to appoint teachers, to undertake the management of any new working-class centres that may be established, where Extension Lectures are given in connexion with the work of this committee, to supervise the admission of workpeople to Oxford as well as their studies in Oxford, to raise funds for scholarships, to advise the University Authorities on matters relating to working-class education, and generally to make such arrangements for establishing or strengthening the connexion between Oxford and the working classes as may from time to time appear desirable. The committee should have its own secretaries, and should conduct all the correspondence necessary between Oxford and working-class centres.

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[1] Since October 1907 London University has paid and is still paying the whole cost of the teacher of a class of workpeople somewhat similar in purpose to those which we desire to see established.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADMISSION OF WORKPEOPLE TO OXFORD

WE have already stated that, in our opinion, and, we believe in that of the growing number of workpeople who give serious thought to Higher Education, extra-mural teaching, however excellent, must not be regarded as a substitute, but as a preparation, for study in the University. Having, therefore, described the system of classes which we wish to see established, and partially endowed, by Oxford in industrial towns, we now go on to consider the important problem of ensuring that a considerable proportion of the students in these classes may pass regularly and easily to Oxford itself. The points which seem to call for special attention are (i) The nature of the test by which students are to qualify for residence in Oxford; (ii) The financial provision needed in order that they may be enabled to do so, and the best means of introducing them to the life of Oxford; (iii) The courses of study to be pursued by them in Oxford; (iv) The conditions ot study in the vacation. 119

(i) *The Test for Residence at Oxford.*

We recommend that, on the conclusion of the period of two years' study undertaken by any extra-mural class, a special committee of selection be appointed, consisting of the class teacher, two University representatives, a representative of the Workers' Educational Association, of the local organization, and of the class, to select those students who they consider ought to be enabled to come into residence at the University. 120

This committee should, in making its recommendation, take account (i) of the work done by the students in qualifying for the special certificate mentioned above (§ 111) and of their capacity to profit by more advanced study; (ii) of the character and influence of the students, and in 121 particular of any probability which may exist that they will be asked to hold places of trust and responsibility. We think it important that in the selection of those who are to study in Oxford, the second point should not be overlooked, as it is one of the objects of the scheme which we recommend to give the broad general training needed to qualify workpeople for public positions.

122 Provided therefore, that all those recommended by the committee have reached the intellectual standard needed to qualify them for taking advantage of the advanced teaching offered by Oxford, it is desirable that regard should be had to the future career which they intend to pursue, and the likelihood that they will use their education in some public or semi-public service. At the same time we do not, of course, imply that men whose gifts lie in other directions shall be excluded. It will be noted that in recommending that the selection of students to proceed to Oxford be left in part to members of the tutorial class, we are following a plan similar to that established by the will of the late Cecil Rhodes for the appointment of his scholars.

(ii) *The Financial Provision for Workpeople in Oxford.*

123 It is obvious that if workpeople are to reside for two years in Oxford, some financial provision must be made for them. The cost of living in an ordinary college is certainly not less than from £100 to £120 for a year of twenty-four weeks; the cost of living in Ruskin College is about £52 for a full year of forty-eight weeks; the expenses of a non-collegiate student who lives in lodgings during the three Oxford terms may perhaps be put at about £70. (See Appendix ii.) It is hardly necessary to point out that no workman can, out of his own earnings, provide anything approaching even the smallest of these sums, and that such money as he has laid by must be used, not to pay for his residence in Oxford, but to support him during the period after leaving Oxford in which he is likely to be looking for employment. Moreover, if he is married, his family has to be considered. In abandoning his trade for two years, and consequently losing his wages and breaking

his service, he will make, in any case, a very considerable financial sacrifice. It will be necessary, therefore, if the freedom of access to Oxford which is generally thought desirable is to be a real and not merely a nominal freedom, to find the means of maintaining him at the University. In the words of the Secretary of the Longton (Staffs.) Education Committee in answer to a letter from the University Extension Delegacy: 'What is wanted before it is possible for any working man to think of going to the University is a scholarship of such an amount as would enable him to maintain himself there, and, in some cases, as would, in addition, provide a margin to assist those who might be dependent upon him, and who, in consequence of his temporary withdrawal as a wage-earner, might suffer great hardship.'

We therefore recommend—(*a*) That those of the students 124 who have passed through the two years' course with special distinction should be enabled by the grant of scholarships or exhibitions to come into residence at the University. (*b*) That it should be one of the duties of the Standing Committee of the University Extension Delegacy, whose appointment we recommend above (§ 118), to organize funds for the establishment of such scholarships or exhibitions, to be tenable either at an Oxford College or Hall, by a non-collegiate student, at Ruskin College, or at any Hostel for working-class students which may hereafter be established.

There are three main sources to which it appears reasonable 125 to look for the provision of the necessary scholarships: (i) Oxford Colleges, (ii) Working-class Organizations, (iii) Public Funds.

(i) The total sum expended annually on scholarships and 126 exhibitions by Oxford Colleges, and the conditions under which they are awarded, have already been stated (§ 44). It appears to us, in view of the urgent importance of bringing the working classes into touch with Oxford, that it would not be unreasonable to ask the colleges to devote part of the funds which they spend on scholarships and exhibitions to the maintenance of the students from the Tutorial classes, when the latter have been established. The number of such students is not likely, for some time to come, to be large, and we think it important that before classes over and above the two already existing are established, the willingness of the colleges to help in the manner suggested should be ascertained. We do not think that by doing so they would run the risk of spending part of their scholarship funds on a class of student with intellectual attainments inferior to those of the ordinary scholar. The workmen recommended as eligible for residence in Oxford will be a highly selected class, the ablest members of a constituency which will be, we hope, practically coterminous with the whole country. They will necessarily be men who are willing to face a considerable risk for the sake of improving their education, and who will already have gained in the workshop and in their societies a knowledge of life which is very valuable to the student of the Political Sciences. Regarding the proposal to appropriate certain exhibitions to them from the point of view of the colleges, it seems to us that the change will not be in the direction of endowing an intellectually inferior class of scholars, but rather in the direction of giving greater encouragement to the students of history, economics, and political science, who at present absorb a very small part of the total amount spent by Oxford Colleges on scholarships and exhibitions. We think that in view of the great impetus given to the scientific study of society in recent years, such a readjustment would in any case be desirable, quite apart from any demands which might reasonably be made upon Oxford by the working classes. Now that the working classes have themselves sent representatives to Oxford to ask for a fuller share in the endowments of which Oxford is the trustee, we feel that we can with confidence ask the colleges to appropriate part of the funds at their disposal to scholarships and exhibitions for the maintenance in Oxford of workmen engaged in the study of these subjects.

127 (ii) The second source from which we think money might be obtained for the maintenance of working-class students in Oxford is to be found in the funds of the Labour Organizations. The public-spirited and far-sighted action of great Trade

Unions, such as the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, the South Wales Miners' Federation, the Steel Smelters' Society, the Northern Counties Weavers' Association, and of several others, has supplied the scholarships needed to maintain some of their members at Ruskin College. The Co-operative Union has endowed two exhibitions at Oriel College, and has biennially sent a student to it. We do not think that the Trade Unions either can or ought to be the *chief* source from which funds should be drawn for the purpose of offering an Oxford education to workpeople. It would be most undesirable that the number of such students maintained at the University should fluctuate with the fluctuating financial prosperity of these societies, increasing when they are prosperous, and diminishing whenever a period of bad trade or a prolonged dispute has depleted their resources. Moreover, it is probable that workpeople would regard with considerable, and not unjustifiable, suspicion, any proposal to save the endowments given to Oxford for the purpose of maintaining poor students by throwing the whole burden of their maintenance on the shoulders of men whose income frequently does not exceed thirty shillings per week, and that they would be inclined to demand a larger share in the scholarship funds already existing before raising fresh funds by levies imposed through organizations which have heavy calls upon them for other purposes. Scholarships granted by Trade Unions or Co-operative Societies cannot, therefore, in our opinion, maintain all or most of the working-class students whom we desire to see brought to Oxford. But we think, nevertheless, that were Labour Organizations really convinced that Oxford was anxious to offer some of their members an education to fit them for the services of their fellows, and that Oxford was doing all in its power with its present resources to make the necessary financial provision for them, they would come forward readily to supplement its efforts by endowing additional scholarships and exhibitions tenable by them at an ordinary College, or as Non-Collegiate students, or as members of Ruskin College.

128 Finally we think that Local Education Authorities in areas where Tutorial classes are established should be consulted with a view to ascertaining whether they would be willing to allot part of the rate fund at their disposal for the maintenance of higher education to scholarships tenable at Oxford by members of the Tutorial classes.[1] (See Appendix iv.) We are well aware of the heavy calls made upon them and of the strictly limited funds which they can command. But the grants which they make to scholarships tenable at the Universities are at present so small, and the importance of establishing a connexion between Oxford and industrial cities is so great, that we feel confident that they will consider our proposal.

129 Assuming that the money needed to maintain a considerable number of working-class students at Oxford will be forthcoming, we do not think it necessary to determine in advance where the scholarships shall be tenable. The scholars may come up either as members of an ordinary College, or as Non-collegiate students, or as members of Ruskin College, according to the tastes of each individual and the advice given to him. But we think it important to point out that the fullest facilities should be offered for the admission into ordinary Colleges of any approved person who desires it. The life of the non-collegiate student, in spite of the great educational advantages which it offers at a very small cost, would not be that most adapted to the education of work-people, because it would tend to cut them off from the opportunity of mixing with many different types of character and social tradition, which is generally admitted to be one of the most valuable elements in an Oxford education. The corporate spirit which is so strong among the English working classes naturally disposes them to regard education as a kind of co-operative undertaking and to fit them for collegiate life. Nor do we think that it would be wise to restrict them to residence at Ruskin College. While its success in evoking the enthusiastic support of Labour

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[1] The Yorkshire West Riding County Council has already given two scholarships to maintain students at Ruskin College.

has been very great, and while it is most desirable that it should develop largely in the future, the effect of restricting working-class students to Ruskin College would be, in our opinion, to give rise to a false impression that it is the wish of Oxford to put them off with some kind of unofficial recognition, and to confine the ordinary Colleges to men of other social classes. This misunderstanding would be most lamentable. We have seen no reason at all for agreeing with the suggestion occasionally made that workmen students would not mix well with men drawn from the 'public' schools, or that they would introduce a discordant element into college life. Though it is hard for a poor man to enter a College, he finds in it, once he has entered, a spirit of fellowship and equality, and if we may be permitted to express our opinion on a matter on which certainty is impossible, it seems to us that they would make very valuable contributions to the social life of Oxford, and that they would teach other undergraduates at least as much as they would learn from them. For this reason, if for no other, we would wish that a large number of them could reside regularly in Oxford Colleges. We cannot, indeed, conceal from ourselves that there are certain dangers against which only the good sense of working-class students can guard them, and we understand that some doubts have been expressed in Labour circles as to the wisdom of sending workpeople to Oxford Colleges as they exist to-day, on account of the possible risk that they might be carried off their feet by the social life of Oxford, and forget their own people. We therefore regard our recommendation as experimental, and we think that, if it should not be followed by the results which we hope and anticipate, the new Standing Committee might consider the desirability of making special arrangements in connexion with Colleges or the non-collegiate system for working-class students.[1] In the immediate future, however, we think that workmen students should be admitted to the ordinary colleges in the manner recommended above.

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[1] This suggestion has been made by the Rector of Exeter in an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, Oct. 1907. Emmanuel College, Cambridge, affords an instance where a hostel has been attached to a college.

(iii) *Courses of Study and Provision for Teaching.*

130 We have already stated that, in our opinion, the majority of working-class students will desire to study, during their residence in Oxford, some of the various branches of the Political Sciences. The provision at present existing which seems to have a special reference to their needs consists of lectures and instruction given in connexion with the Final Honour Schools of Literae Humaniores and Modern History and the Diploma in Economics, to which may be added occasional courses and special lectures instituted by the Common University Fund, the Dunkin Lectures in Sociology at Manchester College, and lectures given at Ruskin College on economic, historical and political subjects. In this connexion may be mentioned the proposal of the Trustees of the University Appeal Fund to provide a Lectureship in Political Theory and Institutions and the selection by the Common University Fund of Mr. Beveridge of the Board of Trade to give a special course of lectures on the Economics of Unemployment.

131 We think that the majority of working-class students drawn from the Tutorial classes will naturally read for a diploma rather than for a degree. Since they will usually reside for two years in Oxford (sometimes for only one), they will very rarely be in a position to acquire the linguistic attainments necessary to passing Responsions and reading for Honours in Modern History. At the same time, every opportunity and encouragement should be offered to those who are anxious, and qualified, to take a degree, either by extending their scholarships and exhibitions, or by taking any other steps which may seem desirable.

132 Of the Diploma courses at present existing that which is most desirable for them is the course presented to students taking the Diploma in Economics. The course of reading laid down for it might be adjusted so as to give special attention to the industrial problems in which workpeople are particularly interested, and of which it is specially desirable that they should have a thorough and critical knowledge.

We think, however, that in addition to this, facilities 133 should be offered them for studying questions which are not strictly economic, but a grasp of which is essential to the understanding of modern society, such as those of local government, political geography, the contact of races, the government of dependencies, and many others. This might be done to some extent by encouraging them to attend those courses of Lectures given for the History School and the Geography Diploma which deal with recent history and problems. We hold strongly, moreover, that not only in the interests of workmen students, but in the interests of the scientific study of political problems, political science in the broadest sense of the term, or Sociology, should be given a much more prominent place in the curricula of Oxford than it has occupied hitherto. In the course of the last few years the inductive study of political and economic problems, based upon careful investigation into past and present conditions, has made great progress both in this country and upon the continent, and seems likely to exercise a profound influence upon the future development of the Social Sciences. We may perhaps mention, to illustrate what we have in mind, the sociological work done by individuals such as Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, the endowment of two chairs of Sociology at London University, and the research work in political and economic science carried on at the London School of Economics. We think it most desirable that the theoretical and analytical study of politics and economics, which has hitherto predominated at Oxford, should be supplemented by inductive investigation of political and economic problems, and we therefore recommend that, in the immediate future, a Diploma in Political Science be established at Oxford either as part of or parallel to the Diploma in Economics. At the same time we hope that ultimately the University will organize a School of Politics and Economics and that one or more Chairs of Sociology will be endowed in Oxford, as they have been in London University. In view of the great and growing interest taken by working people in these subjects, we think that the Labour Organizations of the country might be willing to contribute to the endowment of such Chairs.

134 The increase in the number of persons studying economics and politics which will be brought about by the introduction of working-class students into Oxford, and which is, for its own sake, eminently desirable, will make it necessary to increase the staff of teachers engaged in teaching of these subjects. As the demand for such teachers more and more makes itself felt, posts for them will, no doubt, be created, and fellowships will be offered for proficiency in such subjects. In the meantime, we think that the immediate needs might be met by giving a wider application to the policy, already adopted by the University in certain subjects, of inviting persons who have had special opportunities for the study of particular questions, and who have no official connexion with the University, to lecture in Oxford. Well-known experts, such as Mr. C. S. Loch, Professor W. J. Ashley, Professor M. E. Sadler, Professor L. T. Hobhouse, and Mr. Graham Wallas, have in the course of the last few years been invited to give the Dunkin lectures at Manchester College, bringing an invaluable atmosphere of actuality into the political and economic thought of those who heard them. Though the number of persons equally well known as experts in their own departments of science is, of course, not large, it seems desirable that in organizing the study of economics and political science, Oxford should make full use of the services of men who, outside Oxford, have had first-hand experience of economic and political problems. A small step would be taken in this direction were our suggestion adopted, that the teachers of the new Tutorial classes appointed under the Standing Committee of the University Extension Delegacy should be required to teach regularly in Oxford in connexion with the Diploma in Economics already existing, and the Diploma in Political Science which we hope to see instituted.

(iv) *Conditions of Study in the Vacations.*

135 It will be necessary to make special arrangements for the working-class students brought to Oxford to enable them to

carry on their studies during the University vacations, as the period of two years which will in most cases be the longest time during which they can reside in Oxford is too short to admit of being interrupted.

In the case of such students as go to Ruskin College no 136
difficulty will arise, since the College year is continuous, and study is carried on during the University vacations. We think that arrangements might be made for the working-class students admitted into ordinary Colleges—(*a*) by arranging that in the vacation they shall attend the lectures given at Ruskin College, and that their work shall be supervised by the teachers at work there—(*b*) by inviting teachers from other Universities and other persons unconnected with Oxford to reside for part of their vacation in Oxford, and to lecture to the students, on the lines of the Cambridge Long Vacation Term, and the 'summer schools' and 'vacation courses' already established at some Universities in Germany and America. We do not anticipate that there would be any difficulty in obtaining their services for part of the Long Vacation, provided they were adequately paid and were offered hospitality by the Colleges. It has often been pointed out that the virtual disuse of the Colleges during six months in the year means that a great educational capital is lying idle, and we think that our suggestions would contribute to its fuller and more effective utilization. The Standing Committee should be responsible for making all arrangements. (*c*) By arranging that the teachers of the Tutorial classes should give part of their vacation to teaching in Oxford, not only in term time, but when the ordinary students have gone down. Such work would, of course, be accompanied by a honorarium. Finally, we think it desirable that the working-class students in residence in different Colleges should as far as possible reside together during the vacation, and we recommend that facilities be offered them by one of the Colleges for obtaining rooms in it at any rate during July, August and September.

CHAPTER VII

THE AFTER CAREER OF THE WORKING-CLASS STUDENTS

137 It will naturally be asked: 'To what will the education which we wish Oxford to offer workpeople lead, and what career will they follow after leaving the University?' We have already expressed an opinion that the demand for University education made by workpeople, is not so much for facilities to enable their children to compete successfully with members of other classes for positions of social dignity and emolument, as to enable workmen to fulfil with greater efficiency the duties which they owe to their own class, and, as members of their class, to the whole nation. There can therefore be no doubt that, with some exceptions, the working-class students who go to Oxford will at the end of their two years of study return to the towns from which they came, and continue to work at their trades, as before, as has hitherto been done by almost all the students educated at Ruskin College. To those who do this their education will be a means, not only of developing their own powers of enjoyment, but of enabling them to exercise an influence for good in the social life of their factory and town.

138 At the same time there is a large and rapidly increasing number of positions of great responsibility which are held by workpeople, and for the most efficient discharge of which it is essential that they should have a means of obtaining the best education which the country can offer. The working-class demand that higher education should not separate the student from his own people must not be taken to imply that it is desired that he should necessarily return to the bench or the machine at which he worked before going to Oxford, but that he should in one capacity or another use his education in the service of his fellows.

We may perhaps indicate a few of the duties which an 139 Oxford education will enable workmen to perform, and in the more efficient fulfilment of which they would enlist their class on the side of higher education. (i) There are in Great Britain 1,153 Trade Unions (some of them with several hundred branches), 237 Trades Councils, 93 Federations of Trade Unions, 6 Federations of Trades Councils, 3 Parliamentary Committees appointed by Trade Union Congresses, 209 Conciliation and Arbitration Boards, 389 Friendly Societies, and 2,646 Workmen's Co-operative Societies.[1] Most of these organizations employ paid officers, men who are daily discharging duties of the utmost responsibility and delicacy, and which make demands on their judgement of men and knowledge of economic and political principles as great as, or greater than, those made on the Civil Servant in India or this country. The district secretary of the engineers or boiler-makers who is met by economic arguments as to the effect of machinery, arguments which he sometimes cannot easily answer, but which yet in the face of his daily experience he cannot accept; the textile operative who is required to gauge the results of foreign competition and its bearing on hours and wages; every official who has at once to convince educated opponents of the justice of his contentions, and to persuade large bodies of men to postpone immediate gains to the higher good of the community, knows that he and his class are hampered in their decisions by their lack of knowledge of economic science, and of the experience of other countries and other ages. The education which Oxford can give, by broadening his knowledge and strengthening his judgement, would make him at once a more efficient servant of his own society, and a more potent influence on the side of industrial peace. The working classes are quick to recognize the advantage of being officered by men of education, as is shown by the support which they have given to Ruskin College; and we have no doubt that many of the students who are trained at Oxford would be offered positions of importance in the service of their Trade Unions. What is said above with regard to Trade Unions applies to almost the same extent to Co-operative Societies.

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[1] These figures are taken from the Directory of Industrial Associations in the United Kingdom in 1907 published by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade.

140 (ii) The growth of the movement in favour of the direct representation of Labour in the House of Commons and on other public bodies is creating a demand for a class of educated men to act as Labour representatives. At the present day, in many parts of England, Labour Organizations find great difficulty in getting suitable men to represent them, and they will continue to do so until workpeople are brought into close contact with the Universities. At the same time, the development which is now taking place in the number and complexity of municipal and other services makes it increasingly important that persons elected on to public bodies should have had a training in the principles of political and economic science. We think that a certain number of the working-class students educated at Oxford will find a useful career in service on municipal bodies of all kinds. It is not necessary to add the hope that by doing so they would raise the whole tone of public life.

141 (iii) Some of the students educated at Oxford will naturally become teachers of the tutorial classes organized under the new Standing Committee of the University Extension Delegacy. This would, in our opinion, be a most important and desirable development. It is at present extremely hard to find teachers who possess both sound academic qualifications and the requisite knowledge of working-class life and habits of thought. We strongly hope, therefore, that when the arrangements for bringing working-class students to Oxford have been in operation for a few years, Oxford will be training a new class of teachers to spread its influence in the industrial towns of the country—men with the sympathies of workpeople and the breadth of view given by a University education.

142 These are a few of the positions of influence and responsibility which we think an Oxford education would fit working-class students to fill with honour to themselves and advantage not only to the manual workers of their own trades and their

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own class, but to the whole community, which rests upon their labour, which suffers for their ignorance, and which will be strengthened by their increasing wisdom. But they are only a few; for our proposals are but a small beginning of what we hope will be a new step towards the development of a democratic education and of an educated democracy.

143 If at the end of this report we may venture to state our anticipations of the future development of University education among the mass of the people, we are inclined to say that there are two ideals which the State and the Universities should keep before their eyes, neither of which can be neglected without grave loss to the spirit and intellect of the nation. On the one hand, a career must be opened to talent. There must be that free movement from one class to another that alone can ensure that the manual and intellectual work of the nation is performed by those best fitted to perform it, and that fresh streams of ability are continually drawn from every quarter of society. There must be more scholarships from the elementary to the secondary schools, and from public secondary schools to the University. A larger number of Oxford scholarships must be reserved for poor men, and must be given in subjects such as history and modern languages, in order that the youth educated at schools where classics predominate may not have an unfair advantage over the boy from schools where the future of most of the students causes classics to be crowded out by other subjects. The expenses of a University education must be reduced to a minimum by action on the part of the University, and if necessary by grants from public sources, and a far larger number of those who are destined to teach the rising generation must receive the broad mental culture which Universities can give. By these and similar steps the movement of the sons of poor parents into the intellectual professions would be facilitated, and Oxford would be enriched by men from every school and every social class.

144 But this is only one side, and for our purpose not the most important side, of the ideal at which Universities must aim. If it is necessary that talent should flow freely between

different classes, that channels should be dug and ladders should be raised along which it can move, it must, nevertheless, never be forgotten that the boys who can take advantage of these must always be an infinitesimal proportion of the whole population, and that the great mass of the working classes gain little by any system which merely transfers to other positions the brightest and most zealous among them. The nation needs the services not only ot the professor, the lawyer, the doctor, and the civil servant, but of the miner, the bricklayer, the engineer, and an unnumbered army of labourers. The eleven millions who weave our clothes, build our houses, and carry us safely on our journeys, demand University education in order that they may face with wisdom the unsolved problems of their present position, not in order that they may escape to another. Hitherto that education has lain far beyond their reach. They have read the teachings of political economists and political philosophers belonging to other classes, but they have not always profited by their reading. For economists and philosophers have often seemed to them too ignorant of the position of the wage-earner, and too unsympathetic towards his difficulties, to be guides in whom they could trust for theoretical enlightenment or practical advice. To-day, in their striving for a fuller life, they ask that men of their own class should co-operate as students with Oxford in order that, with minds enlarged by impartial study, they in their turn may become the future teachers and leaders, the philosophers and economists, of the working classes. Such a movement is fraught with incalculable possibilities. For it seems to us that the task of educationalists in the future must be not merely to make smooth the way for those who wish to rise to positions usually considered higher than that of the manual worker, but to ennoble the status of every class by supplying it, whatever its work and social conditions, with the form of culture appropriate to its needs.

145 We present this report in the hope that it may call attention to the urgent importance of this problem, and that it may make some small contribution to its solution.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

We give below a summary of our recommendations :—

I. *Teaching beyond the Limits of the University.*

We recommend :—

(i) That it is desirable to organize systematic teaching in certain selected centres extending over a period of not less than two years.

(ii) That this teaching should take the form (*a*) of lectures (with classes), but more particularly (*b*) of class work as distinct from lectures, each class to consist, as a rule, of not more than thirty students.

(iii) That a special certificate should be awarded under the authority of the University Extension Delegacy on the work, attendance, and proficiency of the class-students, after a report from the teacher and two University representatives appointed for the purpose; and that the students' capacity should be tested mainly by examination of the essays written by them during the two years' course.

(iv) That it is desirable that the certificate should be such as would satisfy the requirements of the Committee for Economics (or other similar committees) for the admission ot students not members of the University to Diploma courses.[1]

(v) That in view of the lack of textbooks suitable for the use of these classes, the Standing Committee recommended below be asked to make arrangements for the provision and publication of such textbooks.

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[1] This proposal has already been met by the Committee for Economics.

II. *The Admission of Working-class Students to Oxford.*

We recommend:—

(i) That it is desirable that in the future qualified students from the tutorial classes should be enabled regularly and easily to pass into residence at Oxford, and to continue their studies there.

(ii) That in order to make possible the residence of working-class students in Oxford (*a*) Colleges be asked to set aside a certain number of scholarships or exhibitions for them; (*b*) a request be forwarded to the Trustees of the University Appeal Fund to set aside a sum for the purpose of granting assistance to working-class students from the tutorial classes.

(iii) That recommendation for such scholarships, exhibitions and maintenance grants be based on a report from a Committee of Selection, consisting of the class teacher, the two University representatives, a representative of the Workers' Educational Association, of the local organization, and of the class.

(iv) That it be one of the duties of the Standing Committee, which it is proposed to constitute below, to organize funds for the establishment of such scholarships, exhibitions, or maintenance grants, to be tenable either at a College or Hall of the University, by a non-collegiate student, or at Ruskin College.

III. *The Position and Payment of Teachers.*

We recommend:—

(i) That the teachers be paid £80 per unit of twenty-four classes, or when in full work £400 per session of twenty-four weeks, together with travelling expenses.

(ii) That the teachers be given an academic status in Oxford by being employed regularly as lecturers for a College or for the University.

(iii) That £40 out of every £80 paid per course of classes, or £200 per annum when the teacher is in full work, be contributed by Oxford, and that it be the duty of the Standing Committee to raise the necessary money for this purpose, and also for travelling expenses, fees to examiners and other incidental University expenses.

(iv) That the selection of teachers be in the hands of the Standing Committee, subject to approval by the University Extension Delegacy, and by the body, whether College or University, which makes itself responsible for their part payment.

IV. *The Authority for Organizing Working-class Education.*

The question of organization is at present in an experimental stage.

We recommend—for the present:—

(i) That a Standing Committee of the University Extension Delegacy be constituted to deal with the education of work-people both in and outside Oxford, whose duty it shall be to take steps for the carrying out of the recommendations made in this report, and to take all other steps for establishing or strengthening any connexion between Oxford and the working classes which may from time to time appear desirable.

(ii) That the Committee consist of not less than five, nor more than seven representatives of the University nominated by the University Extension Delegacy and of an equal number of representatives of working-class institutions and organizations, appointed through the Workers' Educational Association.

(iii) That it should be immediately responsible to the Delegacy.

(iv) That it should hold a stated meeting each Term.

(v) That the Committee have its own secretaries, and conduct all correspondence between Oxford and working-class centres where tutorial classes are established, or lectures given under its auspices.[1]

V. *Ruskin College.*

We recommend:—

(i) That residence for one year at Ruskin College together with a certificate from the College, in which two University representatives appointed for the purpose by the

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[1] This Committee has already been constituted.

Committee of Economics shall concur, that the student has reached a satisfactory standard in the course of study pursued in the College should be accepted as satisfying the requirements of the University that he has received a good general education and is qualified to pursue the study of Economics.

(ii) That under any scheme of Scholarships or Exhibitions for working men, a certain number of such Scholarships or Exhibitions should be placed at the disposal of the Council of Ruskin College for second-year students who have qualified for admission to the Diploma course in Economics or Political Science.

VI. *Diploma in Political Science.*

We recommend the establishment of a Diploma in Political Science, either as part of, or parallel to the Diploma in Economics.

VII. *Special Inquiry Department.*

We recommend the establishment by the University of a Special Department, whose duty it shall be to collect information as to educational movements in this country and abroad, to inquire into the needs of new classes of students, and to issue reports from time to time. We think that such a Department would render valuable service in guiding the policy of the University and Colleges upon all matters which concern the secondary schools, and other parts of our educational system, especially those affecting the working classes.

THOMAS B. STRONG (*Chairman*)
D. J. SHACKLETON (*Vice-Chairman*)

S. BALL
W. H. BERRY
C. W. BOWERMAN
RICHARDSON CAMPBELL
H. B. LEES SMITH

J. M. MACTAVISH
J. A. R. MARRIOTT
A. L. SMITH
H. H. TURNER
ALFRED WILKINSON

A. E. ZIMMERN } *Joint-Secretaries*
A. MANSBRIDGE }

NOTE.—Mr. Marriott cordially concurs in the educational recommendations of the above Report, but expresses no opinion on the administrative changes suggested in it.

APPENDIX I

THE ORIGINAL COLLEGE STATUTES

THE following passages are taken from the ancient College Statutes, printed for the Royal Commission of 1852. All these Statutes are now superseded by the Statutes approved in 1882. They are cited here in illustration of the statements in the text of the Report as to the original purpose and constitution of the Colleges:—

BALLIOL COLLEGE. *Statutes of Dervorguilla*, A.D. 1282. 'First, we will and ordain that our Scholars, all and singular, be required, on Sundays and the principal feast-days, to be present at the Divine Office also at sermons or preachings on the same feasts . . . on other days that they diligently attend the schools and give their minds to study, according to the statutes of the University of Oxford, and the form defined below. . . . We prescribe that our Scholars shall provide that three masses be celebrated solemnly in each year, for the soul of our beloved husband John of Balliol, and for the souls of our ancestors and all the faithful departed, also for our own health and safety. . . . And in order the better to provide for the sustentation of poor men, for whose advantage we intend to labour, we will that the richer in the society of our Scholars, shall give diligence to live so temperately that the poor be in no way burdened on account of onerous expenses' (vol. i, p. v. 7). Then follow rules about the allotted portion and other matters: 'Let our Scholars have one poor Scholar assigned to them by our Procurators, to whom they are required to supply the remains of their table, unless our Procurators shall have decreed that this may be omitted' (p. vii). Sir P. Somerville added six Scholars to Dervorguilla's foundation. These are to be students in the Faculty of Arts, chosen from places near the estates granted to the College, 'provided that the three conditions named in ancient ordinances be found in them or any of them, namely, that they be the more poor, the more proficient, the more excellent in character.' Six Fellows to be elected out of the Scholars, of M.A. standing, 'to study in the faculty of theology and Canon Law' (p. viii. ix). In the election care is to be taken that no one be admitted but men of honesty, purity, peacefulness, and humility (p. x). The Fellows to have 11*d.* a week, the Master 40*s.* (p. xvii), with certain other allowances. These Statutes were sanctioned in 1340. In 1507 under a Papal Bull the previous Statutes were consolidated. In the Statutes of 1507 the allowances were raised, and the amounts spent on taking degrees limited (p. 14). No person to be elected Fellow 'who has any ecclesiastical cure, who has at his disposal more than 40 shillings of fixed net income, from patrimony, chapelry, chantry, or prebend' (p. 7). 'The Master and each of the Fellows to have one Scholar or Servitor in his keeping, not more than 18 years of age, these (Servitors), being sufficiently trained in plainsong and grammar shall give diligent and continuous attention to logic, obey the Master or his Vicegerent, wait upon the Fellows at table, and live upon the remains of the table of the Master and Fellows' (p. 9). A Fellow acquiring income of more than 100 shillings must vacate his place after twelve months (p. 17).

MERTON. *Statutes of the House of Scholars of Merton*, 1264. Certain estates are granted 'for the perpetual sustenance of twenty Scholars living at Oxford or elsewhere where learning may flourish, and for the sustenance of two or three ministers of the altar of Christ dwelling in the aforesaid house'. 'The Scholars to be of our kin, so far as there may be found in it men honest, capable, and willing to advance (in study).' In default of these other persons may be elected, with preference to the diocese of Winchester. The Warden is to search for poor children of the founder's family and have them educated so as to succeed to the scholarships (pp. 5-6). In 1270 these Statutes were superseded by a more elaborate code: the preferences for founder's kin and the diocese of Winchester were still retained (p. 10); the founder's kin having an increased allowance (p. 18). Three chaplains and twelve poor Scholars of secondary rank (pauperes secundarii) were added with ecclesiastical functions to pray 'for the soul of Henry of Germany and Richard the King his father' (p. 20).

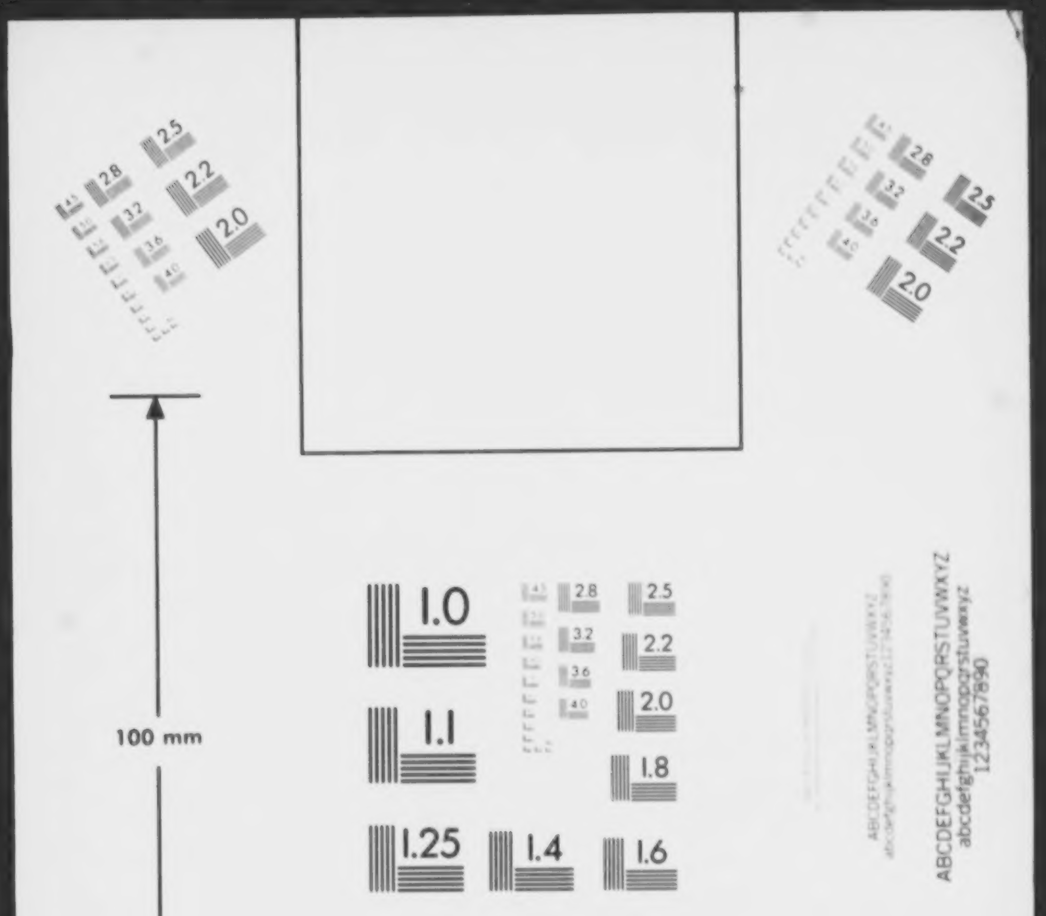
ORIEL, 1326. Founded for ten Scholars in Theology, well suited and disposed for this science. With the assent of the Society three might study Canon Law. The Scholars to be honest, peaceable, and humble, . . . poor, suited to study, and 'willing to make progress' (p. 8), None to be elected for theological study unless he had previously 'ruled (i. e. graduated) in dialectic or philosophy: nor in Canon Law unless he had previously studied Civil Law for three years or two at the least' (p. 8). Masses to be said for founders (p. 10).

QUEEN'S, 1340. The College was established for a Provost and twelve Fellows mentioned by name (p. 7). The Founder wishes his College to exclude no competent persons, but to make elections to vacant places from the ranks of poor Masters, fit and suitable to advance in Theology, who have already graduated in Arts. There is to be preference for the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and for founder's kin (p. 12). All to be ordained within a year (p. 13). The Provost may have a separate table and household: there is also a class of 'poor boys' reading for the Arts degree (p. 15). Various luxurious practices are forbidden: e.g. keeping hawks and hounds, musical instruments, horses or other animals (pp. 18-19). The poor boys to live 'on the alms of the Scholars' with aid from the College. A preference is reserved for founder's kin (p. 28).

NEW COLLEGE, 1379. The College to consist of one Warden and seventy poor needy scholars, clerks, to study in the faculties of Theology, Law, Canon and Civil, and Philosophy. Two Scholars to be allowed to study Medicine, and two Astronomy. There shall be also ten chaplains, three stipendiary clerks and sixteen boys for choristers (pp. 2-4). Founder's kin have preference, next to them poor indigent clerks who have already received the first tonsure, not graduates: Scholars from Winchester to have a prior claim to election, especially if they come from places where the College has estates. After these certain counties have preference in a fixed order (p. 7). The amount of the allowance to Fellows, &c., was to vary with prices: normally, it would be 12*d.* weekly, in times of scarcity 16*d.*, and, if corn was more than 2*s.* a bushel for more than 20 days it was to rise to 18*d.* Certain allowances granted to persons taking degrees were restricted to poor students, who had to prove their need by oath, before the Warden, Vice-Warden, and Bursars (p. 53). Times are fixed by which the Fellows are to take orders, and masses enjoined for the Founder and others.

These references are sufficient to indicate the general character of the mediaeval foundations. It would be superfluous to go through the Statutes of all the Colleges: there is a strong family likeness amongst them. At Magdalen (1458) noblemen's sons are to be admitted to rooms and commons, paying for themselves (p. 60), but the number of them is limited to twenty.

As regards the purchasing value of the allowances Dr. Rashdall writes as follows (*Universities*, vol. ii, pp. 663–4): a Fellow's weekly 'commons in the second half of the fourteenth century at an English College varied (at ordinary times) from a shilling to eighteenpence. Meat was then at about ¼*d.* per lb., butter and cheese at ½*d.* per lb., while 6 lb. of wheat could be bought for 4*d.* Beer good enough for a nobleman's Determination feast could be had at 12*d.* the quart: but home-brewed small-beer must have cost far less than this. Thus 1½ lb. of bread, 1 lb. of meat, and ¼ lb. of butter and cheese per head could be provided for about 1*d.* a day or 7*d.* a week.'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APPENDIX II

ON THE COST OF LIVING IN COLLEGES

(Contributed)

WE may begin by recording the following statement which forms part of a printed circular issued from Keble College.

COLLEGE CHARGES

The College charges are £85 per annum (£82. 10*s*. to the College and £2. 10*s*. for University dues), paid terminally, and there is an entrance fee of £5. The terminal sum includes payment for tuition, board, fuel, and rent of furnished rooms, but not the University fees for matriculation, examinations, and degrees. Permission is given to incur within certain limits additional expenses in order to prevent such a system from being too rigid and uniform.

The College is intended by the economy of its management and the general character of its regulations to help and encourage those who wish to live simply.

The following points may be mentioned as tending, among others, to secure these objects:—

1. The payment of the College charge in advance at the beginning of each term. This arrangement avoids the necessity for the payment of Caution Money at Matriculation.
2. The extension of the Hall system to Breakfast and Luncheon.
3. The provision of necessary furniture by the College.

This statement forms a good starting-point because the items left in doubt are as few as possible. No estimate can well be made either here or elsewhere in this report for

(*a*) Travelling expenses;
(*b*) Cost of living in Vacations (26 weeks);
(*c*) Clothes and laundry;
(*d*) Books;
(*e*) Pocket-money, including expenditure on beverages and tobacco,

for the reason that these items will vary with individual taste. But it is important that any one who is considering the cost of a year at the University should make an estimate of these items for himself, and add it to the expenditure herein mentioned.

Beyond the above, the Keble charges are as nearly inclusive as they can be made. Something must be added for expenses on athletics, if any, and for the University fees for matriculation, examinations, and degrees. The matriculation fee is £3 10*s.*, and a cap and gown will be required. It will be seen that there is an entrance fee at Keble of £5, and generally it must be remembered that there will be certain serious expenses at starting. We may take for example the following statement from the Information Paper concerning Non-Collegiate Students, where such expenses are kept as low as possible.

The fees and dues to be paid to the Censor at the Office before Matriculation are:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
1. Matriculation fee to the University . .	3	10	0
2. Entrance fee to the Delegacy	2	10	0
3. Caution-Money (returned on removal of name)	2	0	0
4. Entrance fee to Library	0	10	0
5. Dues for the first Quarter	1	10	0
6. Lodging House Delegacy Fee . . .	0	3	6
Total	£10	3	6

Even here no mention is made of cap and gown.

Remembering then the initial expenses of from £10 to £20, the cost of living per annum at Keble is £85, plus the cost of athletics and the items (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), (*e*), above. This is £34 10*s.* more than the cost for a Non-Collegiate Student, as the following extract from the Information Paper will show.

The yearly expense of living for three Terms (Easter and Trinity Terms being counted together as one) may therefore be reckoned as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Board and Lodging for 24 weeks at 30*s.* a week	36	0	0
University and Delegacy Dues . . .	6	10	6
Examination Fees (on the average) . .	2	14	0
Tuition	6	6	0
Total	£51	10	6

This estimate does not include travelling, books, clothes, incidental expenses, or cost of living in Vacations.

At other Colleges, where there are not quite the same economical arrangements as at Keble, the cost would be a little more. I have estimated as nearly as possible the cost of living at New College with rigid economy, and find that it might be done for £100 a year, including subscriptions to clubs, laundry, lights, and firing, &c., and including the cost of dinner in Hall on the four nights a week required by regulations of the College, but assuming that on the other three nights a cheaper meal will suffice, and that the meals generally are of a frugal nature, but such as the College kitchen supplies.

I do not think that the estimate could be put much below £100 without sacrificing some of just those advantages which it is desired to obtain.

(Signed) H. H. TURNER.

APPENDIX III

GOVERNMENT GRANTS FOR TUTORIAL CLASSES

THE conditions of grants are contained in Regulations for Technical Schools, Schools of Art, and other forms of provision of further education in England and Wales (from August 1, 1908, to July 31, 1909). *Price 2d. of Wyman & Sons, Ltd., either directly or through any Booksellers.* (Cd. 4187.)

A Tutorial Class meeting on twenty-four occasions of two hours each and working at an approved course of study extending over not less than three years, may earn a grant of approximately 17*s.* in respect of each student. No such grant will be paid until the most rigid tests have been applied. Until this year the grant was approximately 10*s.* per student. This was earned by both Rochdale and Longton.

The following extracts are made from the Regulations:—

FROM THE PREFATORY MEMORANDUM

By an alteration in Division I (*b*) (ii) of Section 32 the Board have recognized that organized work of a very high standard of advancement is now being attempted in sections of Evening education eligible for grants under this Division, other than the commercial courses to which the highest rate of grant has hitherto been restricted. The Board have, however, indicated by the condition that the standard of the work must correspond with that required for University Degrees in Honours, that it is only in the very highest type of classwork that there will be any likelihood of a grant being allowed at a rate in excess of that previously payable.

ORDINARY CONDITIONS OF GRANT

DIVISION I.—LITERARY AND COMMERCIAL

Any generalized or special subject of literary or commercial education will be accepted if a suitable syllabus is submitted.

(*a*) The rate of grant payable will, as a rule, be from 2*s*. 6*d*. to 3*s*. 6*d*.

(*b*) (i) The rate of grant may be increased up to 5*s*. where advanced instruction is efficiently given by teachers recognized by the Board as specially qualified, and where the syllabus followed is one of the Specimen Advanced Syllabuses published by the Board, or a corresponding syllabus specially approved for the purpose by the Board. Where the work of the School includes such advanced work, a single rate of grant may be awarded for all the work under Division I, and in this case that rate will be determined in part by the standard of this advanced instruction, and by the relative amount of this work.

(ii) Where an approved course of organized instruction, including instruction in commercial subjects, is provided, the rate may be further increased up to 8*s*. 6*d*. The course must not include instruction of the standard recognized under the Preparatory Division of this Section, and must, except in special cases, extend over not less than three years. The condition that the course must include instruction in commercial subjects may be waived if the course as actually carried out by the students is of a standard corresponding with that required for an Honours degree.

(iii) Managers desirous of claiming in accordance with the provisions of the two preceding paragraphs must enter on the Form of application for recognition the particulars there specified as required in such cases.

(*c*) No lesson of less than one complete half-hour will be allowed to count as instruction in this Division.

Note. Applications for grant should be made through the Local Education Authority, or directly to the Board of Education, in the manner provided, but with the concurrence of the Local Education Authority.

APPENDIX IV

POWERS OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES UNDER THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1902

PART II, HIGHER EDUCATION: SECTION 2

IN RELATION TO UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

1. THE Local Education Authority shall consider the educational needs of their area, and take such steps as seem to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary, and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education, and for that purpose shall apply all or so much as they deem necessary of the residue under Section 1 of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, and shall carry forward for the like purpose any balance thereof which may remain unexpended, and may spend such further sums as they think fit; provided that the amount raised by the Council of a county for the purpose in any year out of rates under this Act shall not exceed the amount which would be produced by a rate of twopence in the pound, or such higher rate as the County Council, with the consent of the Local Government Board, may fix.

Under the above clause the Council of every County, and of every County Borough, is in possession of funds for the purpose of aiding any form of Higher Education, which naturally includes all types of University Extension work.

Power to aid Higher Education is also given to the Councils of non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts, but the amount

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raised by them for the purpose must not exceed the amount which would be produced by a rate of 1*d*. in the £.

It is further evident from the wording of the Act that the Education Authority may either proceed alone, or in co-operation with other bodies.

THE GENERAL PRACTICE OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES IN RELATION TO UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

Education Authorities of County and County Borough Councils have, in the past,

A. Supplied University Extension.

Two typical examples may be quoted.

1. The Essex County Council supplies the Course for the Urban District of Ilford.

2. The County Borough of Longton supplies a University Tutorial Class.

B. Aided the supply of University Extension.

1. The West Riding County Council has agreed to aid the supply of approved University Extension lectures in its area, to an extent not exceeding 50 per cent. of the total cost, e. g. *Wakefield*, 1906-7. Total cost of lectures, £12 10*s*. The County Council made a grant of £6 5*s*., 1907-8. Total cost of lectures £23 18*s*. The County Council made a grant of £10. *Todmorden*, 1907-8. The County Council made a grant of £15.

2. *County Borough of Portsmouth*. The Council grants £100 per annum to the University Extension Committee.

Note. Numerous other instances can be supplied. We have no instance of an Urban District aiding the supply of University Extension under the concurrent powers conferred by the Act, although the Urban District Council at Abertillery levied a 1*d*. rate for the purpose.

AID NOT RENDERED BY LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

Several County Councils, and County Borough Councils, neither supply nor help to supply University Extension. Even within County Council areas there is not always equality of treatment such as prevails under the West

Riding County Council. The Essex County Council affords no financial aid to the Extension Centre at Grays.

Some County and County Borough Councils have declined to make grants in aid: e.g. a deputation representing three potential centres in Northamptonshire was received by the County Council, but aid was refused.

The Lancashire County Council supplies no aid to University Extension work. The Bury Borough Council refuses assistance to the Bury Centre.

The considerations which have deterred Local Authorities from assisting University Extension work may be classed under three heads:—

1. Objections to the method of approach made by the local centre.

2. The unwillingness of County Councils to incur expenditure other than what is absolutely necessary.

3. The view that University Extension is a type of Education which ought to be supported entirely by those who take advantage of it.

General Aid

Some Education Authorities have granted rooms free of charge for University Extension work. The Birkenhead Education Authority has paid subscriptions to bodies promoting University Extension lectures, and the Sheffield Education Committee pays £2 2*s.* annually to the Sheffield W.E.A.

Recommendations

It is certain that the type of University Extension Class approved by resolution at the first meeting of the Committee would merit the support of Education Authorities generally. The report of the Committee should provide a basis for national action, and so prevent irregularity in the action of the local centres. It would be wise if all such advances to Local Education Authorities were made under the advice of a central body, though the actual negotiations would be left exclusively to the local body.

Relation of Classes to Local Education Authorities

The relation of the Classes proposed by the Committee to the Education Authority would be as follows:—

1. Where the Education Authority undertakes the supply they would be regarded as working under the direction of that body.

2. Where the Education Authorities supply aid they would generally be regarded as working under the direction of workmen's organizations.

Scholarships

Under section 23 (2) of the Act, Local Education Authorities are empowered to pay or assist in paying the fees of students ordinarily resident within their own areas at Schools or Colleges or Hostels within or without their area.

The West Riding County Council maintains two scholars at Ruskin College.

Note. This is a matter of primary importance in connexion with the maintenance at Oxford of selected scholars.

London Act

The powers of the London County Council are similar to the powers of County Councils elsewhere. The development and encouragement of University Extension is engaging the attention of the Extension Board of London University.

The Polytechnics support sparsely attended University Extension Courses approximating in size to the Classes approved by the full Committee, e. g. At Battersea, the average attendance at two courses was 8. At the South Western Polytechnic, at three classes, the attendances were 29, 11, 11, respectively.

A room upon the school premises at Battersea has been granted to the Tutorial Classes, constructed on lines identical with those recommended by the full Committee.

The attitude of the London County Council is generally sympathetic, e. g. Report of the University Extension Board of London University, 1906–7, page 4.

'A plan of co-operation has been arranged with the London County Council, by which students at evening lectures of the County Council will be encouraged to pass on into University Extension Courses, and it is particularly hoped that many of them will undertake the advanced course of study in the Humanities. The plan comes into operation at the beginning of the current session, and there is reason to expect not only that in this way unnecessary overlapping may be avoided, but also that pupils passing out of the County Council Schools into the evening lectures may be induced to carry on their studies more continuously, and to a higher level.'

APPENDIX V

CONDITIONS OF GRANT IN AID OF TUTORIAL CLASSES FROM THE GILCHRIST EDUCATIONAL TRUST

THE Gilchrist Trustees have expressed their readiness to consider applications on behalf of a limited number of Classes in the Session 1908-9 (arranged under the scheme drawn up by the Committee on Oxford and Workpeople) under the following conditions :—

(1) The Course of Study shall be for a period of not less than two years.

(2) During the year each class shall meet at least twenty-four times for two hours on each occasion, and the work of the year shall be divided into two terms, or sections, each including not less than twelve Class Meetings.

(3) The number of students in each class shall not exceed thirty in number.

(4) A University teacher will be specially appointed for each class who will it is hoped teach for a portion of the year in the University itself.

(5) A capitation grant of 10*s.* per head shall be made on account of students who are bona fide working men or women, up to the maximum number of twenty, who make each attendance (subject to the remission by the lecturer of not more than two attendances in case of serious illness) and who write each essay required by the University Extension Delegacy during each term or section of twelve meetings of two hours each: the maximum grant for the Session for each centre not to exceed £20.

GILCHRIST EDUCATIONAL GRANTS

Applications for Gilchrist Grants must be made to the Secretaries of the Standing Committee of the University Extension Delegacy, and must be made provisionally in October (in 1908 not later than the middle of December), accompanied by a list of the students with their actual occupations. The Delegacy will transmit the applications to the Gilchrist Trustees.

Note. Each class will ascertain from local sources the possibility of assistance from Educational Trusts operating in their districts; such as the Ogden Trust, the head quarters of which is in Manchester. The aid of the Standing Committee of the Delegacy will be supplied at once if required.

APPENDIX VI

REPORTS ON TUTORIAL CLASSES

(I)

LONGTON UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASS

REPORT

Attendance. THE course of twelve lectures on the Economic History of the Seventeenth Century closed on April 14, 1908.

At the commencement forty students were enrolled, but of these, two withdrew after the first two lectures, in the one case owing to deficiency in train-service making it difficult to reach the class, and the other through somewhat severe illness, thus leaving thirty-eight. The average attendance was thirty-one, and thirty-two of the students qualified for the Board of Education grant. One student fell away through indifference, one had reluctantly to leave the class after the sixth lecture owing to his work taking him into Shropshire, while a severe epidemic of influenza caused several others of the members to be absent when otherwise they would not have been so. The average attendance of thirty-one must be considered very satisfactory, especially when it is remembered that the subject is a somewhat difficult one.

Work and Progress. With very few exceptions, the students, men and women alike, showed a keen and intelligent interest in the subject of the class, and seemed to realize its importance, and a satisfactory number of papers were written; and the lecturer reported that great improvement showed itself in the essays as time went on, and that some really excellent papers were written. The discussion in the class proved very educative, and gradually reached a very much higher tone as the class progressed. From careful inquiry it appeared that every student of the class was reading up the subject, and some read hard although they did not write papers. A larger supply of books would probably have meant more work. Twenty-six students have entered for the examination which has been fixed for May 22.

The Lecturer. The lecturer was the right man in the right place, and is evidently experienced in dealing with audiences of working-people. He was lucid, and eminently fair-minded in his treatment of the subject, and possessed the faculty of being able to capture and to hold the interest of his class. Above all he showed himself to be an enthusiast in the work, and no trouble was too much for him.

Composition of the Class. This was an ideal University class, being representative of all sections of what are known as the middle and working classes. In the class were a gardener, a plumber, a potter's thrower, a potter's decorator, a basket-maker, a miner, a mechanic, a baker, several clerks, a librarian, a grocer, a miller's agent, a railway agent, a clothier, insurance collectors, and elementary school teachers; and it is claimed that the mixing of the different classes of people in this way was in itself very educative. The elementary school teachers especially seem to have derived much benefit from the subject, as they state it has broadened their conception of English history, and shown them a side of which, generally speaking, they knew but little. Many of the elementary school teachers possess no other opportunities of Higher Education than those offered by local University Extension, and their horizon is often bounded by the limits of the elementary school, due in most cases to 'financial inefficiency'; and, considering the importance of the teacher's place in the community, there is no doubt that a work of far-reaching importance can be accomplished among elementary school teachers by classes of this description.

Summer Meeting Scholarships.

The Mayor of Longton has generously given a sum of £5 to provide a scholarship, tenable at the Cambridge Summer Meeting of Extension Students, 1908. Mr. A. Mansbridge, the Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association, has also kindly promised to consider an application from an artisan student for a Summer Meeting Scholarship of the value of £2 10*s.*, while Mr. R. H. Tawney, the lecturer, is kindly interesting himself in obtaining from private sources two further scholarships of £5 each, to be awarded to students at the class. It is probable, therefore, that some half-dozen students from Longton will attend the Cambridge Summer Meeting.

Suggestions.

From the experience now gained of Tutorial Classes, it is suggested that in future the members should be limited to, say, twenty-five, as if this number is exceeded it makes it difficult for the lecturer to get in touch with the students, and to give them that individual attention necessary. Further, it is suggested that two hours is slightly too long for the period of meeting. It is somewhat of a strain to some after a hard day's work. An hour and a half would probably be more suitable.

Conclusion.

Finally, considering the comparatively small size of the town, and remembering how extremely difficult it is to get the working man to attend classes of this kind—very often because he feels they are beyond his capacities—the class must be considered to have well justified itself, and to have shown that there is a great future before University Extension work if developed on these lines.

Future of the Class.

It seems very probable that if satisfactory arrangements can be made with the University Delegacy, the Committee would be prepared to continue the class in the autumn, as about twenty-five of the present students have notified their wish to continue the course.

With another course of lectures arranged for the Michaelmas Term, the continuation of the Tutorial Class and the organization of University Extension work will be a matter of no little difficulty and anxiety to the Education Committee; but with encouragement they will probably be willing to go on with the work.

(2)

ROCHDALE UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASS

PROVISIONAL REPORT

Attendances.

The course of twelve lectures on the Economic History of the Seventeenth Century should have closed on April 11, 1908, but the illness of the lecturer rendered it necessary to postpone the last lecture until Saturday, May 2.

At the commencement, forty-three (including four ladies) students were enrolled, but of these, three have withdrawn; one on account of duties of employment, one by doctor's orders, and the other by changed circumstances, preventing attendance, thus leaving forty. The average attendance was thirty-nine. All the students, except one, have qualified for the Board of Education grant.

There has been no absence from the class but what has been accounted for, as illness or as an unavoidable cause. Some of the attendances have not been counted, because of the students having to leave before the end of the two hours' lesson. The attendance, therefore, may be considered for all practical purposes as 100 per cent.

Work and Progress.

The papers written—and it is expected that every student will write each essay—have been of great excellence. There have been several visitors to the class, and all, like Mr. A. E. Zimmern, of New College, were impressed by the high level of the discussion and the remarkable acumen displayed in the asking of questions.

It may also be added that three classes have been run by the students in connexion with the Tutorial Class, and the same satisfactory feature in the attendance characterizes these classes also.

The Lecturer.

The lecturer won the affection and confidence of his class from the outset, and has retained it all along. Mr. Zimmern states that 'his method of exposition was academic in the best sense of the term'.

Composition of the Class.

As was intended at the outset, the class consists almost exclusively of artisans. It is a satisfactory feature that there are among the students those who are most active in the work of their organizations, political and otherwise, or are officials of their Trade Unions.

Summer Meeting Scholarships.

Several of the students will, aided by scholarships, attend the Cambridge Summer Meeting of Extension Students, 1908.

Suggestions.

No further suggestions can be offered; except that the number of students, forty, makes too much work for the lecturer. The difficulty of individual attention has been surmounted to some extent by the lecturer, because of his willingness to stay in the locality, and to visit the students in their homes. The formation of a club for purely educational purposes has also made it possible for the teacher to meet students, and has added something of the collegiate spirit to the class work.

Future of the Class.

The connexion will be maintained by the students who, it will be remembered, have pledged attendance for two years, right through the summer, and a full course of twenty-six lectures will be arranged in accordance with the original plan. It is, however, probable that it will be necessary to seek the establishment of a second class for first-year students.

Note. The services of the local Secretaries, who are not mentioned above, should be specially acknowledged. The success of the class at Rochdale has been due in great measure to the organizing skill and devotion of Mr. L. V. Gill, and a similar debt of gratitude is due in connexion with the Longton class to Mr. E. S. Cartwright. The Scholarships referred to above were duly used for the Summer Meeting at Cambridge, which was attended this year by a number of workpeople.

It should also be mentioned that the Rochdale Education Guild has started a Club where its members can meet for discussion, and has formed the nucleus of a Library.

APPENDIX VII

COURSES OF STUDY

THE appended courses have been drawn up under the direction of the Sub-Committee on Curricula. They are in no way intended to be binding on either teachers or learners; but it was thought that the subjects chosen were those of the most immediate interest and that it might be useful both to intending students and others interested in this Report to indicate upon what general lines the class teaching would proceed. The courses are devised so far as possible upon a common scale, and are in most cases divided into two parts, the first a compulsory portion, calculated to take four months' reading at an hour a day, and the second comprising a number of optional subjects, any two of which may be taken during the remaining eight months.

We wish to express our cordial thanks to the following gentlemen who have helped us in various ways in connexion with the courses:—Mr. E. Barker, Mr. W. E. Bullock, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Mr. L. V. Gill, Mr. G. W. Gough, Mr. J. St. G. Heath, Professor L. T. Hobhouse, Mr. Tom Jones, Mr. R. V. Lennard, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., Professor Walter Raleigh, Mr. R. H. Tawney, Mr. R. J. E. Tiddy, and Mr. Graham Wallas.

Special acknowledgement is due to Mr. H. V. Storey, who very kindly undertook the considerable task of pricing the books recommended. All prices given for books are the lowest net prices for new copies from the ordinary bookseller. An asterisk is prefixed to the more important books. The letters 'o. p.' after a book mean 'out of print'. 'Pub.' means 'published price', 'ed.' means edited by.' As will be understood, the lists of books are given for purposes of selection by the teacher as well as for the guidance of students.

The Committee will consider the preparation of courses on further subjects as the demand arises.

ECONOMICS

I

THE Course should begin with a concrete examination of existing economic conditions (which may be called 'Descriptive Economics') rather than with general theory. The best method of approaching this subject is through economic history. A good method to adopt, after a preliminary general sketch of political and economic conditions, is to take one by one the chief characteristics of modern economic life, such as: the system of production on a large scale; the position of agriculture; the system of land tenure; the Factory Acts; the fiscal system; the banking system; the co-operative movement; trade unionism, &c., &c.—and to trace the development of each separately. This is the plan pursued in Cunningham and McArthur's *Outlines of English Industrial History*. The teacher should not confine himself to the economic history of the nineteenth century, as by doing so he deprives the students of materials for valuable comparison and contrasts—e. g. between modern and mediaeval agriculture, modern fiscal policy and mercantilist ideas, trade unions and craft gilds, sixteenth-century and modern ideas as to the relief of distress. It is not necessary to enter *in detail* into political history. But in order to make economic history intelligible, it is necessary to describe the main organs of government, methods of administration, and the position of classes in the periods under consideration. It is desirable, further, that students should make the acquaintance of the more celebrated books dealing with past economic problems, e. g. More's *Utopia* and Hale's *Commonweal of England*, Ed. Lamond (3/9), in the sixteenth century; Mun's *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade* (3/-) in the seventeenth century; and, of course, parts of the *Wealth of Nations*.

From this point the course should proceed to those portions of an ordinary textbook which deal with descriptive economics. For example, if Marshall's *Economics of Industry* is adopted as a textbook, Book II and Book IV, containing about one third of the volume, could now be read. (The subjects dealt with in these two books are as follows: Some Fundamental Notions; Wealth; Production; Consumption; Labour; Necessaries; Capital; Income; The Fertility of Land; The Growth of Population; The Health and Strength of the Population; Industrial Training; The Growth of Wealth; Industrial Organization.) This may be supplemented and illustrated in detail by books describing the economic organization of different countries, e.g. Shadwell's *Industrial Efficiency* (2 vols., 26/-); Brassey and Chapman's *Work and Wages*, Part I (7/6); II (10/6); J. A. Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (4/6); Macrosty's *Trusts and the State* (o. p.), or his later book on *The Trust Movement in British Industry* (9/-); Ely's *Monopolies and Trusts* (5/-); Macgregor's *Industrial Combination* (7/6).

Now that the class is in the middle of an economic textbook, the transition to economic theory is easy. If many members of the class have socialistic views, it would be well to preface this part of the subject by reading Marx's *Capital* (4/-). The first nine chapters of Book I contain the essence of the whole. The style is rather difficult, but a simplified statement is to be found in Hyndman's *Economics of Socialism* (3/-). The teacher who adopts this course must, however, be very sure that the criticism of Marx, implicit in the ordinary textbook, is equally carefully explained. The best direct statement of this criticism is in Böhm-Bawerk's *Capital and Interest* (o. p., pub. 14/-) (chapter on Exploitation Theories), and in the same writer's *Karl Marx and the Close of his System* (o. p., pub. 6/-). If this plan is adopted the next part of the textbook, which the teacher will find himself forced to take up, will be that dealing with the theory of value, as the difference between Marx and the orthodox economists depends on the difference of their treatment of this problem.

The method adopted above is to finish the work in 'Descriptive Economics' and Economic History before proceeding to Economic Theory. The teacher may, however, find it better to enter rather earlier into Economic Theory, so that the study of this subject may for a considerable time run side by side with that of History and Existing Conditions. It is a considerable relief to the student to be able to turn from the one to the other.

1. Textbooks on Economic History:—

Townsend Warner: *Landmarks of English Industrial History* (3/9).
Cheyney: *Industrial and Social History of England* (6-).
Cunningham and McArthur: *Outlines of English Industrial History* (3/-).
Clive Day: *History of Commerce* (7/6).
Traill: *Social England* (6 vols. at 14/- each).

Fuller Works on Economic History:—

Cunningham: *English Industry and Commerce* (vol. i, 12/6; vol. ii, 10/-; vol. iii, 7/6); *The Industrial Revolution* (reprinted portion of vol. iii above) (5/-).
Ashley: *Introduction to Economical History* (2 vols., 11/8).
Rogers: *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (4/-).
Toynbee: *The Industrial Revolution* (2/6).

Some Books in Special Historical Subjects:—

Land:

Nasse: *The Land Community of the Middle Ages* (1871, o. p.).
Vinogradoff: *Villeinage in England* (Oxford Press, 16/-).
Slater: *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields* (10/6).
Seebohm: *The Village Community* (9/5).

Foreign Commerce:

Hewins: *English Trade and Finance in the Sixteenth Century* (1/11).
Schmoller: *The Mercantile System* (3/-).
Leone Levi: *British Commerce and Economic Progress* (1880) (o. p., pub. 18/-).

Gilds and Labour Conditions:

Unwin: *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford Press, 7/6).
Brentano: *English Gilds and Trade Unions* (1870, o. p.).
S. and B. Webb: *History of Trade Unionism* (7/6).

Poor Law and Relief of Distress:

Leonard: *Early History of English Poor Relief* (7/6).
Nicholls: *History of the Poor Law*, 3 vols. (15/-).
Vols. sold separately: vols. i and ii, 10/6; vol. iii, 7/6.

2. General Books (in addition to those mentioned above):—

Marshall: *Principles of Economics* (12/6).
Ely: *Evolution of Industrial Society* (5/-).
Marx: *Capital*, vol. i (4/-); vol. ii (7/11).
Hyndman: *Economics of Socialism* (3/-).
Böhm-Bawerk: *Capital and Interest* (o. p.).
Ruskin: *Unto this last* (1/- and 1/6).
J. B. Clark: *Essentials of Economic Theory as applied to modern problems of industry and public policy* (8/6).

II

From here forward the class might follow the order of whatever textbook is adopted. The question of what this textbook is to be arises. Marshall's is undoubtedly the most authoritative and sympathetic. It is, however, not easy for beginners. But by this time the class will have had a good deal of training and ought to be able to follow it if properly guided. The teacher may, however, find it necessary to begin with a simpler work, but he should at any rate eventually take the class through Marshall, as he does much to show working men that a scientific economist can be a human being. Gide's *Principles of Political Economy* or Seager's *Introduction to Economics* or his *Briefer Course* can be used for those parts of the subject which Marshall's work has not yet reached. Portions of the writings of the older economists would also naturally be read. From the first, however, the student should be taught to realize that economic phenomena are not isolated facts, and must be explained by reference to economic motives.

Books for this part of the course:—

Seager: *Introduction to Economics* (8/6).
——— *Economics, Briefer Course* (6/6).
Seligman: *Principles of Economics* (10/6).
Gide: *Principles of Political Economy* (5/8).
Marshall: *Economics of Industry* (2/8).
Webb: *Industrial Democracy*, Part III (12/- for whole work).

The rest of the time will be occupied with the application of economics to social questions. An opportunity is here offered of studying Statistics and Statistical Method as an introduction to this part of the subject. Statistical Method is best explained in Part I of Bowley's *Elements of Statistics* (10/6). This should be illustrated by a survey of the statistical work of Sir Robert Giffen, Mr. Booth, Mr. Rowntree, and Mr. Chiozza Money. The class should also be made familiar with the more important blue books, especially with those issued by the Board of Trade.

The field of applied economics is so wide that the Class can only cover a small part of it. If, however, it is neglected, the knowledge acquired up to this time may seem to be nothing but an ingenious mechanism of little practical use. We suggest some of the subjects which perplex those who work for social welfare.

A. Socialism. Ensor: *Modern Socialism* (5/-); Mallock: *A Critical Examination of Socialism* (1/-); *Fabian Essays* (-/6). See also pp. 127 and 150.

Municipal Trading. For History see p. 145 § 19. Also Darwin *Municipal Trade* (12/-) and *Municipal Ownership* (2/6); R. B. Suthers: *Mind Your Own Business* (-/6); G. B. Shaw: *The Common Sense of Municipal Trading* (-/6).

B. Trade Unionism. Co-operation. See p. 124. Also Brassey and Chapman: *Work and Wages*, vol. ii (10/6); Shadwell: *Industrial Efficiency* (6/-).

C. Sweating. *Report of an enquiry by the Board of Trade into the earnings and hours of labour of workpeople of the United Kingdom*, I. Textile Trades in 1906 (Cd. 4545, 2/7; other trades to follow); Cadbury and Shann: *Women's Work and Wages* (4/6). Rowntree: *Poverty* (1/-); and Hobson: *Problems of Poverty* (2/6) should also be consulted.

The Legal Minimum Wage. The theory is best given in Webb's *Industrial Democracy*, the practice in *Report to the Home Office on the Wages Boards and Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Acts of Australia and New Zealand* (No. 4167, 1/10); W. P. Reeves: *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand* (2 vols., 24/-).

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Factory Legislation. *The Case for the Factory Acts,* edited by Mrs. Sidney Webb (1/11); Hutchins and Harrison: *History of Factory Legislation* (10/6).

D. Unemployment. W. H. Beveridge: *Unemployment* (with bibliography, 7/6); Dearle: *Unemployment in the London Building Trades* (3/6); Alden: *The Unemployed* (2/-); J. A. Hobson: *The Problem of the Unemployed* (2/6); *The Remedy for Unemployment* (edited by S. and B. Webb, Fabian Society, 2/6); Schloss: *Insurance against Unemployment* (3/6); *Agencies and Methods for dealing with Unemployed in certain Foreign Countries* (Board of Trade, Cd. 2304, 1/-).

Old Age Pensions. Charles Booth: *Old Age Pensions* (2/-).

Welfare of Children. G. Newman: *Infantile Mortality* (7/6).

The Poor Law System. Aschrott: *The English Poor Law System* (10/6); *The Report of the Poor Law Commission of 1905-9* (3 vols., 4/-; *Minority Report,* 2/-); Mackay: *History of the English Poor Law* (7/6); H. Bosanquet: *The Poor Law Report of* 1909 (3/6); Muirhead: *By what Authority?* (2/-). See also p. 145 § 21.

E. Problems of Taxation. See p. 126. See also Hobson: *The Industrial System—an enquiry into Earned and Unearned Increment* (7/6).

F. Proposals for Land Reform. Shaw Lefevre: *English and Irish Land Systems* (o. p.); Brodrick: *English Land and English Landlords* (o. p.); Prothero: *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming* (o. p., pub. 5/-); Wallace: *Land Nationalization* (1/-); George: *Progress and Poverty* (1/-). See also Curtler: *A Short History of English Agriculture* (6/6); Hasbach: *History of the English Agricultural Labourer* (7/6); Gilbert Slater: *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of the Common Fields* (10/6); Johnson: *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner* (5/-).

G. The Fiscal Question. See p. 126. Also Smart: *The Return to Protection* (5/-); Fuchs: *The Trade Policy of Great Britain* (7/6); Ashley: *The Tariff Problem* (2/6); Marshall: *Memorandum on the*

Fiscal Policy of International Trade (-/3); *Report of an enquiry of the Board of Trade into Working Class Rents, Housing, and Retail Prices, together with the Rates of Wages in Certain Occupations*, I. United Kingdom [Cd. 3864] (6/-), II. German Empire [Cd. 4032] (4/11), III. France [Cd. 4512] (4/1).

Further books dealing with many of these questions will be found in the syllabus on Political Science, or in that on Recent English History.

RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE (1785-1900).

THE Course is divided into two parts, one compulsory, the other optional. It is intended that the Compulsory Subject should be completed in four months. Of the Optional Subjects any two may be chosen, and these together should occupy eight months.

I. COMPULSORY SUBJECT. *The French Revolution and English Poetry.*

The following selections from the writers of the period are prescribed :—

(1) Southey's *Joan of Arc.*
(2) Coleridge's *Religious Musings* and *France.*
(3) Wordsworth's *Prelude.*
(4) Byron's *Childe Harold.*
(5) Shelley's *Hellas* and *Prometheus Unbound.*

Books required :

Southey : Routledge's *Excelsior Library* (1/6).
Coleridge : Dykes Campbell (5/8).
Wordsworth : N. C. Smith, 3 vols. (15/-), or *Oxford Poets* (2/8 or 1/6).
Byron : *Oxford Poets* (2/8 or 1/6).
Shelley : *Oxford Poets* (2/8 or 1/6).

The lives of these poets may be studied in the volumes of the *English Men of Letters*, Series I (1/2 or 9*d.*, new pocket edition, 1/-) and II with index (2/-).

These contain also some criticism of the several authors' work.

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RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE

The following will be found useful for the Literary History of the period, and for the criticism of the authors prescribed:—

Dowden: *The French Revolution and English Literature* (out of print, published at 7/6).
Herford: *The Age of Wordsworth* (3/6).
Hazlitt: *The Spirit of the Age* (*World's Classics*, 1/-).

For Wordsworth:—

Coleridge: *Biographia Literaria* (*Everyman's Library*, 1/-. Annotated edition, J. Shawcross, 8/-).
Matthew Arnold: *Essays in Criticism*, second series (4/-), or *Golden Treasury*, Selection from Wordsworth (2/6).
W. Raleigh: *Wordsworth* (4/6).
N. C. Smith's Introduction in his edition of Wordsworth (see p. 116).
Brandes: *Main Currents of European Literature*, vol. iv (5/-).

For Shelley:—

Matthew Arnold: *Essays in Criticism*, second series.
Articles in Dowden's *Transcripts and Studies* (4/6), and in Brandes, vol. iv (as above).

N.B.—These books are in no way suggested as a substitute for the study of the authors prescribed. They should, as a rule, not be used till some familiarity with the text of the selections has been acquired, and they should be employed chiefly to supplement the results of the student's own reading, and as works of reference.

II. OPTIONAL SUBJECTS.

It is suggested that one Verse Subject and one Prose Subject should be selected from the following:—

A. *Verse.*

(1) Cowper and Crabbe.

Cowper: *Poems*, Bailey (10/6) or *Oxford Poets* (2/8 or 1/6); Letters, *World's Classics*, Selection (1/-), *Golden Treasury* ed. (2/6); Life, &c., Goldwin Smith, *English Men of Letters*, Series I.
Crabbe: *Cambridge English Classics*, 3 vols. (13/6); *Oxford Poets* (2/8); Life, &c., Ainger, *English Men of Letters*, Series II.

(2) Chatterton and Blake.

Chatterton: *Muses Library*, 2 vols. (1/- each) with Biography; Life, &c., Masson (4/6).

Blake: J. Sampson (10/6) or Rossetti (2/6); Selection, with Introduction by W. Raleigh (2/6); Criticism, &c., A. C. Swinburne (6/-), B. de Sélincourt (5/-).

These two subjects, though they do not wholly fall within the prescribed period, are selected as representative of the forerunners of the Romantic Revival, in which wider movement the influence of the French Revolution played an important part.

(3) Wordsworth and Coleridge.

(4) Byron and Shelley.

These two subjects are intended for those who wish to continue their study of these poets during their 'Optional' course.

(5) Keats and Tennyson.

Keats: E. de Sélincourt (Critical Introduction) (7/6) or Buxton Forman ed. (2/8 or 1/6); Life, &c., S. Colvin, *English Men of Letters*, Series I.

Tennyson: Complete Edition (5/8); *Oxford Poets* (2/8 or 1/6—containing all but the latest poems); *Eversley Edition*, 8 vols. (4/- each), with Tennyson's notes; Life, &c., Lyall, *English Men of Letters*, Series II; A. G. Bradley, *Tennyson's In Memoriam* (4/6); *Memoirs of Tennyson* (4/6).

(6) Matthew Arnold and Robert Browning.

Matthew Arnold: Poems (5/8) (1/- all but the latest poems); *Essays in Criticism*, first and second series (8/-), first series, *Universal Library*, 1/-; Life, &c., H. Paul, *English Men of Letters*, Series II.

R. Browning: Complete Edition, 2 vols. (11/3), a large selection is in the *Oxford Poets* (large 2/8 or 1/6); Life, &c., Chesterton, *English Men of Letters*, Series II; Herford, *Modern Writers Series* (1/11).

B. *Prose.*

(1) A selection from the works of any *two* of the following novelists: Jane Austen, Scott, Disraeli, Dickens, Thackeray, the Brontës, George Eliot, Meredith, Thomas Hardy.

Jane Austen: *New Century Library*, 2 vols. (4/-); Life, &c., Austen Leigh's *Memoirs* (4/-); Goldwin Smith, *Great Writers Series* (1/2).

Scott: *Everyman's Library*, Waverley Novels (1/- each); Life, &c., Lockhart, *Abridged Life of Scott* (2/8); Hutton, *English Men of Letters*, Series I; Andrew Lang (2/8).

Disraeli: *Pocket Edition* (1/6 each); Life, &c., Froude (2/6), Sichel (2/6).

Dickens: *Everyman's Library* (1/- each); Life, &c., Forster (2/-); Ward, *English Men of Letters*, Series I; Chesterton (4/6).

Thackeray: *Pocket Edition* (1/- each); Life, &c., Whibley, *Modern English Writers* Series (1/11); Trollope, *English Men of Letters*, Series I.

Brontës: *World's Classics* (1/- each); Life, &c., Mrs. Gaskell (1/2).

G. Eliot: *Popular Edition* (complete) (3/6 each vol.); *Pocket Edition* (2/6 each) or *World's Classics*. A selection of the Novels, *Pocket Edition* (1/- each); Life, &c., Leslie Stephen, *English Men of Letters*, Series II.

Meredith: *Pocket Edition* (2/6 each); Criticism, Henderson (4/6).

Hardy: *Pocket Edition* (2/6 each); Criticism, Macdonnell, *Contemporary Writers* Series (2/8); and *The Art of Thomas Hardy*, by Lionel Johnson (o. p.)

(2) A selection from the prose of any *two* of the following:—Carlyle, Ruskin, Emerson, Matthew Arnold.

Carlyle: *People's Edition* (9*d.* each); Life, &c., Nichol, *English Men of Letters*, Series I.

Ruskin: *Complete Edition*, George Allen (1/-, 1/6: some volumes 2/6 each); selected volumes (unrevised editions) in *Everyman's Library*, *Universal Library* and *World's Classics* (1/- each); Life, &c., Harrison, *English Men of Letters*, Series II.

Emerson: Works, *Eversley Series*, 6 vols. (4/- each); *Essays* in *World's Classics* or *Everyman's Library* (1/-); Life, &c., R. Garnett, *Great Writers Series* (1/2).

Matthew Arnold: *Eversley Edition*, 5 vols. (4/- each); *Everyman's Library* (1/-), Criticism (see above).

RECENT ENGLISH HISTORY

Since 1815

THE object of this course is to enable a student who is interested in the problems at present discussed in English politics to acquire the basis of recent historical fact on which the solution of those problems must largely depend.

The course will therefore in the first place appeal to the memory, and will aim at leaving in the mind of the student a list of historical events remembered in their proper chronological order. But, since events cannot easily be remembered unless they are thought about, and since, even if they are remembered, they are of no use unless they are thought about, the second aim of the course will be to indicate lines of thought on the inter-relation of these events as causes and effects.

The course is intended to cover twelve months' reading, and is divided into two parts; the first (which is compulsory and is intended to occupy four months out of the twelve) consisting of the main outline of English parliamentary politics during the period; and the second consisting of any two out of a number of optional subjects (each of the two being intended to occupy four out of the remaining eight months).

In dealing with the main events influencing the politics of a single country during less than one century, the student will find it possible to learn by heart an actual list of dates into which he can fit the facts acquired in his wider reading, and by means of which he can instantly realize the chronological relation of the different narratives as he reads them. The material for such a list is admirably given in Acland and Ransome, *Outline of English Political History* (Longmans, 4/6). But the student should prepare his own list for himself on a large sheet of paper. He will find it convenient to arrange the dates to be remembered on parallel columns, e.g.

(1) Reigns and Prime Ministers.
(2) Changes in the constitution and policy of the central government.
(3) Changes in local government.
(4) Events in colonial history.
(5) Events in foreign history.

The ruled lines indicating decades should run across all the columns. The student should fill the columns gradually during the year, only putting in events of which he is actually reading, and should read through the list either daily or at least once a week.

Throughout the course the student will often find it both helpful and interesting to look up biographical facts as to the main actors. For this purpose the *Dictionary of National Biography* can be consulted at any good public library. The student should make, as he reads, a list of the names to be so looked up. *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary* (1 vol., 7/11) is a short but extremely well arranged book of reference which may sometimes be used for the same purpose.

COMPULSORY SUBJECT

English Political History since 1815

The student will be expected to acquire an effective knowledge of vol. xi of Longman's *Political History of England* (Brodrick and Fotheringham, 1801–37, 7/6), from ch. viii to the end of the volume, and of the whole of vol. xii of the same *History* (Sidney Low and L. C. Sanders, 1837–1901, 7/6).

He will find that he remembers the events there described more easily if he also reads the period in other histories. He may take for this purpose vols. i and ii of Harriet Martineau's *History* (covering the period 1816–33) [2/8 each], vols. iii and iv of Spencer Walpole's *History of England* (1832–56) [4/6 each], vols. ii, iii, iv, and v of Herbert Paul's *Modern England* (1855–95) [8/6 each], or Justin M'Carthy's one volume

Short History of our own Times (1837–1902) [1/11]. But any such additional reading will not be considered essential, and may depend on his opportunities of access to a public library

The student may find it convenient to arrange the facts of the compulsory subject in relation to—

(*a*) the three 'Reform Bills' of 1832, 1867, and 1884, with their causes and effects;

(*b*) the reconstruction of English local government by the Acts of 1834, 1835, and, later, of 1870, 1888, 1894, and 1902;

(*c*) the adoption of the principle of Colonial self-government in 1839, the taking over of the government of India by England in 1859, and the rise of Imperial feeling as a factor in home politics from 1874.

OPTIONAL SUBJECTS

(1) Cabinet Government in England since 1815

This subject is suggested to those students who wish to spend two-thirds of their year rather than one-third on the 'general history of the period'. The books chosen are mainly biographies, illustrating the events of the compulsory subject as they were seen by the little groups of statesmen who made up the official governments and oppositions of the day.

Books recommended:—Greville, *Journal*, 8 vols., each 2/8; *Life of Earl Russell* (Spencer Walpole), 2 vols., 9/-; *Life of Lord Melbourne* (Torrens), 2 vols., 2/-; *Life of Peel* (C. S. Parker, 3 vols., £1 16/-); *Life of Palmerston* (E. Ashley, 2 vols., 1878; 12/-, o. p.); *Life of Gladstone* (J. Morley, 2 vols., 5/-); *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3 vols., 6/-; *Life of Sir James Graham* (2 vols., 24/-). The small volumes in the 'Queen's Prime Minister' series on Aberdeen and Derby may also be consulted (each 2/6).

The books recommended for this course are expensive and large, and no student should attempt it unless he has access to a library, and can give a great part of every day during the four months to the work of reading. During the course he should read and compare Walter Bagehot's *English Constitution* (2/8) and Sidney Low's *Governance of England* (3/6).

(2) The reconstruction of English Local Government since 1834

An outline of the general history of the reconstruction is given by E. Jenks, *Outline of English Local Government* (2nd edition, 1907, 1/11), and by W. Blake Odgers, *Local Government* (2nd edition, 1907, 2/8).

For particular problems read T. Fowle, *The Poor Law* (Macmillan, 1906, 1/11), *The Report of the Poor Law Commission*, 1834 (reprinted 1905, 1/8), and *The Report of the Poor Law Commission of 1905-9* (4/-); G. Balfour, *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland* (2nd edition, 7/6); Sir H. Craik, *The State in its Relation to Education* (1896, 1/11); Sir J. Simon, *English Sanitary Institutions* (1897, 13/6); J. F. Sykes, *Public Health and Housing* (1901, 5/-); A. Shaw, *Municipal Government of Great Britain* (7/6).

For Local Government up to 1835 the chief authority is Webb (Sidney and Beatrice), *English Local Government*, 3 vols., vol. i, 16/-, vols. ii and iii, 25/-, by far the greater part of which, however, deals with events before 1800.

(3) The social action of the Central State since 1832

(i.e. the direct interference of the State, by Factory Acts and other forms of legislation and administration, with social conditions, as distinguished from its action in developing organs of local government for the same purpose)

Books recommended:—B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison, *A History of Factory Legislation* (1903, 10/6); R. W. Cooke-Taylor, *The Factory System and the Factory Acts* (1894, 1/11), and *The Modern Factory System* (10/6); *The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury as Social Reformer* (1897, 1/11). Those who have access to a good library should also read *The History* *of the Factory Movement* (1802-47) by 'Alfred' (i.e., S. Kydd); *The Reports of Sadler's House of Commons Committee*, 1832, and of *The Royal Commission on the Factory System* (1833); and P. Gaskell, *Artisans and Machinery* (1836).

(4) The political organization and action of the English working classes from 1815 to 1867

Books recommended (the dates given in square brackets represent the approximate periods treated of): — Samuel Bamford, *Passages in the Life of a Radical* [1815-40], (2 vols., Unwin, 1893, 5/3); William Lovett, *Life and Struggles* [1825-50]; A. Somerville, *Autobiography of a Working Man* [1816-40] (o. p.); *Memoir of James Watson* [1825-45] (o.p.); *Life of Francis Place* [1792-1850] by Graham Wallas (2/6); R. G. Gammage, *The Chartist Movement* [1836-50] (1894, 15/-). See also facts in Webb's *History of Trade Unionism* and *The Life of Robert Owen* [1800-50] by F. Podmore (24/-).

Much of the best historical material on the subject is still only to be found in the files of old newspapers, e. g. *The Poor Man's Guardian* [1830-34] and *The Northern Star* [1837-46].

This subject should only be taken by students who have access to one of the great libraries, and who have some aptitude for 'research' work among rather formless materials.

(5) The non-political organization of the working classes for social and industrial purposes since 1815

This subject is mainly covered by the Trade Union, Co-operative and Friendly Society movements. For the history of Trade Unionism by far the most important authority is S. and B. Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (7/6). The book contains an elaborate bibliography which will guide those who wish to read any period of the history of Trade Unionism in greater detail. Most of the author's material is now in the library of the London School of Economics (Clare Market, W.C.).

For the history of Co-operation, G. J. Holyoake's rambling and rather inaccurate *History of Co-operation* (Unwin, 1905, 21/-, earlier and better edition, 2 vols., 1885, o.p.) contains much valuable material. *Industrial Co-operation,* by Miss Catherine Webb (Co-op. Union, 2/6) is a good textbook, and Miss Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb) gives a useful history and discussion of distributive co-operation in her *Co-operative Movement in Great Britain* (1899, 1/11). In connexion with profit-sharing and other forms of co-operative production, the student should read D. Schloss, *Methods of Industrial Remuneration* (1898, 5/8), and Fay, *Co-operation at Home and Abroad* (10/6).

For Friendly Societies he should read J. F. Wilkinson, *Mutual Thrift* (1892, o. p., pub. 2/6), which contains a list of authorities, and J. M. Baernreither, *English Associations of Working Men* (1891, 7/11).

(6) Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation in England and her colonies since 1832

(as developed both by voluntary organizations and by State action)

The student should not give four months to the history of this question unless he is prepared to go into it in detail. Useful textbooks on the subject are A. C. Pigou, *Principles and Methods of Industrial Peace* (1905, 3/6); N. P. Gilman, *Methods of Industrial Peace* (1904, 7/6); D. Knoop, *Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration* (1905, 7/6); and ch. 3 of vol. i. of S. and B. Webb, *Industrial Democracy* (new ed., 12/-). He should also read the history of compulsory arbitration in New Zealand in W. P. Reeves's *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand* (2 vols., 1902, 24/-), and should ascertain the facts of that movement up to date. For this purpose he might write to the Agents General for New Zealand and the Australian Commonwealth (London), asking for references to recent Acts of the Colonial Parliaments and other authorities, books, &c., at the date of writing.

(7) Finance and Taxation since 1838

(including the Free Trade controversy, 1838-46, and the Fiscal controversy, 1903-9, but excluding local taxation)

The student may begin by reading John Morley's *Life of Richard Cobden* (2 vols., 8/-), which he should compare with Sydney Buxton, *Finance and Politics*, 1783-1885 (2 vols., 1888, 26/-), and W. Cunningham, *The Rise and Decline of the Free Trade Movement* (Cambridge Press, 1904, 2/6). He should then read the relevant parts of the proceedings of the Colonial Conference at Ottawa, 1894 (Blue Book, Cd. 7553), those of the Imperial Conference, 1907 (Cd. 3523, 5/-), and the two Board of Trade Reports on British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions (first series, Blue Book, Cd. 1761, 3/6; second series, Cd. 2337, 3/6). See also Report on page 115.

On the general question of Public Finance he should read C. F. Bastable, *Public Finance* (1895, 12/6) and the later volumes of Stephen Dowell, *History of Taxation in England* (4 vols., 1892, Longmans, o. p.), if he can get access to them at a library.

(8) British Colonies and Dependencies from 1815

The student should begin by acquiring a general knowledge of the geography of the British Empire, including the population of each colony or dependency, its status, and the date and occasion of its acquisition. He will want an atlas for this purpose, and he may also use *The Statesman's Year Book* (Scott Keltie, annual, 10/6), or *The Colonial Office List* (Waterlow, annual, 12/6), or *Hazell's Annual*, 3/6; W. P. Greswell's *The British Colonies and their Industries* (1/6) may also be found useful.

He should then read W. P. Greswell's textbook, *The Growth and Administration of the British Colonies*, 1837-97 (1898, 1/11) and Professor H. E. Egerton's *Short History of British Colonial Policy* (7/6). He will also find much useful material in *The British Empire*, ed. A. F. Pollard (The League of the Empire, Caxton Hall, Westminster, 5/-).

For India he should begin with Sir A. Lyall's *Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India* (5/-). He may then read either Sir John Strachey's *India* (1903, 10/-), or Sir George Chesney's *Indian Polity* (1894, 15/9), and the admirable historical introduction to Sir C. P. Ilbert's *The Government of India* (Clarendon Press, 1907, 10/6). The history of the Native States is given in C. L. Tupper's *Our Indian Protectorate* (Longmans, [o. p.]).

All students of British Imperial History should obtain Leaflet No. 8 of the Historical Association; Sec., Miss M. Curran, 6 South Square, Gray's Inn, London, W.C. (price *6d.*), which contains an annotated bibliography of works on the subject.

(9) The Labour-Socialist Movement in England since 1880

With Special Reference to the Period 1884-9.

This subject should only be taken by students who have access to a good library, who can give a great part of their time to the work, and who can expand the rather fragmentary historical material by the direct testimony of men or women who have taken part in the events to be studied. To any such student the course will offer a good opportunity for collecting and arranging recent facts which have not yet been made the subject of formal history. He will find that the clearness and value of such work depends largely upon exact chronology. The day and month, as well as the year, of all events should therefore be recorded, and a detailed chronological plan in parallel columns should be constructed. Care should be taken to preserve accurate references for all notes. The only good general treatments of the subject that have so far appeared in print are Webb's *Socialism in England* (1/11), which only deals with the first half of the period, Hobhouse's *Labour Movement* (1/-), and Brougham Villiers, *The Socialist Movement in England* (10/6).

The General Election of 1880 should be made the starting point of the actual historical arrangement. The compulsory course will have given the student a general knowledge of the political situation of the Liberal Party before the election, and of Gladstone's difficulties in Egypt, Ireland, &c., from 1880 to 1885. Acland and Ransome's *Outline* will enable the student to prepare a chronological column showing the main events in central politics during those five years.

He should also get a general idea of the position of thought among the working classes in 1880. For this he will need to understand the trend of English working-class history during the previous thirty years, the dying away of Chartism and the earlier Christian Socialism after 1851, the growth of the Co-operative Movement with its Owenite traditions, the failure of the 'International' to affect English working-class opinion after 1873, and the political history of Trade Unionism from 1867 onwards. (For this last see Webb, *History of Trade Unionism.*)

The gradual spread of the movement after 1880 was due to a variety of causes. The chief were:—

(i) The successful working of Trade Unionism, the Friendly Society movement, and other forms of industrial organization on a representative basis.

(ii) Developments in central politics, especially the disappointment of Radicals after the General Election of 1880.

(iii) The spread of education, and the growth of an intellectual movement among the working classes.

(iv) The influence of the Continental Socialist movement.

Two periods may be marked:—

(i) 1884–1889: the theoretical Socialist Movement (mainly in London).

This movement may be traced more immediately to the influence of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879) and his lecturing visits to England and Ireland in 1881, 1883 and 1884, combined with the contact of Karl Marx (through Mr. Hyndman and others) with English Radical thought, not long before his death on March 14, 1883. The Democratic Federation was founded in 1881, became the Social Democratic Federation in 1884, and its organ *Justice* was started in the same year. For the early history of the Fabian

Society see Fabian Tract No. 41, and *Memorials of Thomas Davidson, the Wandering Scholar*, by W. Knight, 1907 (7/6). See also Mackail's *Life of William Morris* (2 vols. 10/-). The growing influence of Socialism on working-class opinion may be traced in the resolutions passed by successive meetings of the Trades Union Congress, 1884-9.

This period ended with the London Dock Strike of 1889, which was the first outer manifestation of the importance of the movement.

(ii) 1889–1908. The leading feature of this period is the growth of the Labour Movement, culminating in its organization as a definite political party.

The chief material, apart from the recollection of the persons concerned and MS. letters, minute-books, &c., is to be found in the party newspapers and magazines of the period.

All students will find it convenient to obtain the two tracts, *What to Read* (6*d*.) and *More Books to Read* (1*d*.) from the Fabian Society, 3 Clements Inn, Strand, London, W.C., and in particular to read carefully the description of bibliographical material on p. iii of *What to Read*.

MODERN WORLD HISTORY

THE object of this course is to give the student a clear idea of the chief factors in Modern History—their origin and meaning. It can best be pursued by reading one or two elementary books with attention. Rose, *Napoleonic Era*; Alison Phillips, *European History*, 1815–78; Goldwin Smith, *The History of America*; Rose, *The Development of the European Nations*, ch. 13 to 20—cover all the political ground. A good notion of the intellectual movements indicated in the last section may be gained from *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. x, ch. 22, and Paul, *History of England*, i, ch. 13; iii, ch. 11.

It is always well to dissolve History into problems. After reading ten, twenty, or sixty years of History ask yourself, What were the problems of that time, the problems of foreign policy, of home policy? Why were they settled thus? Should they have been settled otherwise? Try to form opinions rather than to remember facts. If you form judgements you cannot help remembering the salient facts upon which your judgements are formed. Think at stated intervals. Go over what you have read in your mind. Do not attempt too much. It is best to make certain of a firm clear outline.

The following syllabus is drawn up for a year's course of reading. It consists of a compulsory portion (Part I), which the student should be able to master in four months, and of a number of special topics, any two of which may be taken to complete the full year's course.

Part I (compulsory).—General Modern History. Books recommended: Rose, *Napoleonic Era* (3/6); Alison Phillips, *European History*, 1815–78 (6/-); Goldwin Smith, *The United States: an outline of Political History* (6/5); Rose, *The Development of the European Nations*, ch. 13–20 (7/6); *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. x, ch. 22 (16/-); Paul, *History of Modern England*, i, ch. 19; ii, ch. 13; iii, ch. 11 (each 8/6).

Part II.—Special topics, any two of which may be taken as part of a year's course.

I. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1. Its causes, political, intellectual, social. Attempts to reform the old Monarchy. Reasons for failure. Condition of France in 1789.
2. The work of the Constituent Assembly, its composition: difficulties: merits and defects of the constitution of 1791.
3. The work of the Legislative. Character of the Girondin Party. Their idealism. Typical Girondins. The War Policy.
4. Causes of the outbreak of the Great War. Its significance (*a*) for France; (*b*) for Europe.
5. The Convention. Why did the Monarchy go under? The influence of the Jacobin Club. Typical Jacobins. The organization of the Terror. Was it necessary? Permanent influence of the Convention. Its legal and educational schemes. The Thermidorian Reaction.
6. The Directory. Why so many Coup d'Etats? The War Policy. The Directory and Bonaparte. The Directory and France. Causes of its overthrow. Significance of Brumaire.
7. General characteristics of the French Revolution. Its attitude to Property.
   Its attitude to the Church.
   Its attitude to the Corporations.
   Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism.
8. Influence of the Revolution on the chief European countries.

Books recommended: Lecky, *History of England*, vol. vi, ch. 18 (5/-); Morse Stephens, *French Revolution*, vols. i and ii (13/6 each); Carlyle, *French Revolution* (ed. Fletcher) (13/6), plain edition, 2 vols., 2/- (Everyman's Library, or World's Classics); *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. viii (16/-); R. M. Johnston, *The French Revolution* (5/-).

II. THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, 1750-1880.

1. Causes of the War of Independence.
2. The making of the Federal Constitution.
3. Contrasted political ideals. Hamilton and Jefferson.
4. The growth of American power up to 1850. Conquest of Mexico. The Westward movement. Economic developments. Immigration.
5. America and Europe.
   - (*a*) Economic reaction in Europe, Glasgow, Liverpool, Bremen, &c.
   - (*b*) The Munro Doctrine.
   - (*c*) The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 1880.

Books recommended: Lecky, *History of England*, vol. iv, ch. 11, 12; vol. v, ch. 14, 15 (each 5/-); Oliver, F. S., *Alexander Hamilton* (12/6); *The Federalist* (10/6); *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. vii (16/-); Cairnes, *The Slave Power* (7/11); J. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (1783-9) (8/6); Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government* (5/6).

III. NAPOLEON AND EUROPE.

i. Early Life of Napoleon. The needs of France in 1799. The Civil Work of the Consulate.

ii. Reasons for the prolongation of the War.
- (*a*) Causes of the breach of the Peace of Amiens.
- (*b*) The Continental Blockade and its consequences.
- (*c*) The Russian Alliance.
- (*d*) The Peninsular War.
- (*e*) The Downfall of the Empire.

iii. General Survey of Napoleon's Place in History.
1. Merits and defects of his government in France.
2. His direct influence on Germany, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Poland.
3. His indirect influence. Revival of Prussia. Growth of the Pan-German Sentiment. Extension of Russian influence in Europe.
4. Estimate of the share taken by the leading European Nations in his overthrow.

5. Contrast between Bonapartism, Bourbonism, and the Revolution.

Books recommended: Seeley, *Napoleon* (3/9); Fisher, *Bonapartism* (3/6); Rose, *Napoleon* (2 vols., 10/-); *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. ix (16/-).

IV. THE EUROPEAN REACTION, 1815–30.

1. The work of the Congress of Vienna.
2. The reconstruction of Germany; different ideas; why the result was so unsatisfactory.
3. Alexander I and the Holy Alliance.
4. The movements of 1820.
5. English diplomacy and the Holy Alliance.
6. The War of the Greek Independence. Position of Turkey: position of Russia: the revolt in the Principalities: the revolt in the Morea: causes of Greek success.
7. The United Netherlands and the Belgian Revolution.
8. The fall of Charles X.
9. Ireland and the Movement for Catholic Emancipation.
10. The Polish Revolt of 1830.

Books recommended: *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. x (16/-); Alison Phillips, *War of Greek Independence* (5/8); Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*, 1815–1900 (4/6); Guizot, *Memoirs*; Temperley, *Life of Canning* (7/6); Marriott, *Life of Canning* (2/6); Lecky, *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland* (2 vols., 25/-).

V. ENGLAND AND THE WORLD, 1815–50.

1. Position of England after the Napoleonic losses: (*a*) industrial structure; (*b*) political traditions; (*c*) maritime and military power; (*d*) oversea possessions.
2. The downfall of the agricultural aristocracy. Parliamentary Reform. The Free Trade Movement. Growth of Political Radicalism.
3. England and South America.
4. England in Australia and South Africa.

5. England in India, the Red Sea, and the Far East.
6. Reasons why England is the chief representative of Europe over the seas.
7. Schools of thought with regard to Colonial Government.

Books recommended: Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (4/-); Martineau, *History of England*, 1800–15 (2/-); Spencer Walpole, *History of England* (6 vols., 27/-); Fortescue, *Life of Lord Dundonald* (1/11), or Lord Dundonald, *Autobiography of a Sailor* (o.p.); Morley, *Life of Cobden* (2 vols., 8/-); Jenks, *History of the Australasian Colonies* (4/6); Lucas, *Historical Geography of S. and E. Africa* (7/2); Egerton, *English Colonial Policy* (7/6); Parker, *Life and Letters of Sir Robert Peel* (3 vols., 36/-); Sir A. Lyall, *British Dominion in India* (5/-); *The Indian Empire*, in new edition of *Imperial Gazetteer* (4 vols., 24/-); Rogers, *Historical Geography of Australasia* (7/6).

VI. EUROPE FROM 1830 TO 1848.

1. The Government of Louis Philippe. Foreign policy. The *Entente* with England. The Egyptian Question in 1840. Rise of Bonapartism. The Reform Movement. The February Revolution.
2. Growth of a National Liberal Movement in Germany. The Zollverein. The South German Constitutions. The Radical element. The German Revolution of 1848. Its strength. The difficulties in the way of success. Causes of failure.
3. The National Movement in Italy. The Carbonari. Their weakness. Mazzini. The Giovanne Italia, Piedmont. Carlo Alberto. Pius IX and Gioberti. The Movements of 1848, Monarchical, Papal, Republican. Causes of failure.
4. The Austrian Convulsion. The racial problem in the Austrian Dominions. Different position of Bohemia and Hungary. The Bohemian National Movement. The Hungarian National Movements. The Hungarians and the Croats. Reasons for the Austrian

success. The reaction. Why it could not be permanently continued.

Books recommended: Lowes-Dickinson, *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France* (2/8); *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. x (16/-); Headlam, *Life of Bismarck* (3/9); Bolton King, *History of Italian Unity* (2 vols., 24/-); Trevelyan, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic* (6/6); *Hungary: its History and Revolution* (Bohn Series, 2/8); Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Europe* (10/-); *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. xi (16/-).

VII. THE BREAK-UP OF THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM AND THE FORMATION OF THE GREAT NATIONALITIES.

The rise of Napoleon III, his character and aims.

The Crimean War. Its causes and conduct. Why it led to the liberation of Italy. Napoleon III. Cavour.

The War of 1852 and the Truce of Villa Franca.

The work of Garibaldi.

Problems before the New Italian Kingdom.

The early history of Bismarck.

Reforms in the Prussian Army.

The Danish Question and the Austrian War.

Results of the Prussian victory (1) on the state of Austria; (2) on Germany; (3) on France.

Internal difficulties of Napoleon: the Liberal Empire.

External difficulties: the search for alliances. Causes of the rupture. The Hohenzollern candidature. Who was responsible? The War of 1870. Reasons for Prussian success. Political results of the War. The German Empire. The Third Republic.

Books recommended: *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. xi (16/-); Lowes-Dickinson, *Revolution and Reaction in France* (2/8); Fisher, *Bonapartism* (3/6); Kinglake, *Crimean War* (6 vols., each 2/8); Hamley, *The Crimean War* (3/9); Bolton King, *History of Italian Unity* (2 vols., 24/-); Stillman, *Union of Italy* (4/6); Headlam, *Life of Bismarck* (3/9); *Bismarck's Reflections and Reminiscences*, translated under A. J. Butler (2 vols., 24/-). Lord Acton, *Historical Essays*;

essays on *Cavour* and *Causes of the Franco-Prussian War* (10/-); Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Europe* (2 vols., 15/9).

VIII. EUROPE AND THE AMERICAN CONTINENT, 1850–70.

Contrast between the Southern and Northern States.
The Question of Slavery.
The Question of State Rights.
Causes of the War between the North and the South.
The attitude of Europe.
Reasons for the Northern victory.
The Racial Problem in the States.
The influence of the War on Industry, Commerce, and Trade Policy.
The Dominion of Canada Act.
Leading Contrasts between Canadian and American Government.
The good and bad features of American democracy.

Books recommended: Goldwin Smith, *The United States* (6/5); *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. vii (16/-); Morse, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (2 vols., 9/-); Haggard, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*; Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies—Canada*, Part I (4/6), Part II (3/5); Bryce, *American Commonwealth* (2 vols., each 9/5); Cairnes, *The Slave Power* (7/11).

IX. THE OCCUPATION OF THE WASTE SPACES AND THE COMPETITION FOR COLONIAL POWER.

The expansion of Russia in Asia. Characteristics. The Russo-Japanese War.
The French Colonial Movement, Algeria, Annam, Cambodia, Congo, &c.
The French Colonial Movement and the Partition of Africa.
The English in Egypt, Nigeria, Uganda, South Africa.

Books recommended: Skrine, *The Expansion of Russia* (4/6); Scott-Keltie, *The Partition of Africa* (12/-); Milner, *England in Egypt* (4/6); Mary Kingsley, *The Story of West Africa, West African Studies* (5/8); Sir H. Johnston, *A History of the Colonization of Africa* (4/6); *British Central*

Africa (18/-); Lady Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency* (18/-); Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies* (7 vols., about 36/-); *Japan* (article in *Quarterly Review*, 1907); Ian Hamilton, *Notes from a Staff Officer's Scrapbook* (2 vols., 36/-); Hobson, *Imperialism* (2/6); Alleyne Ireland, *Studies in Tropical Administration* (7/6).

X. PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS.

The Revival of Roman Catholicism. Chateaubriand. de Bonald. Lamennais. Newman. Manning. The Vatican Council of 1870.

The High Church Movement in England.

Auguste Comte and Positivism.

The growth of Biblical criticism.

Utilitarianism and Darwinism.

Antisemitism and the Dreyfus case.

The romantic movement in poetry.

The Pre-Raphaelite movement in England.

Books recommended: Nielsen, *The History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (24/-); Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning* (2 vols., 30/-); Lamennais, *Essay on Indifference*, *The Words of a Believer* (1/6); Newman, *Apologia pro vita sua* (-/6); Church, *Oxford Movement* (4/-); Harriett Martineau, *The Positivist Philosophy of A. Comte* (3 vols., 11/3); *The Positivist New Calendar of Great Men* (7/6); A. R. Wallace, *Darwinism* (5/8); Leslie Stephen, *The Utilitarians* (3 vols., 30/-); Conybeare, *The Dreyfus Case* (2/8); F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel Story and its transmission* (6/-); Holman Hunt, *Preraphaelitism and the Preraphaelite Brotherhood* (2 vols., 42/-); J. W. Mackail, *Life of William Morris* (2 vols., 10/-); J. Estlin Carpenter, *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century* (10/6); T. K. Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (5/8); H. S. Nash, *A History of the Higher Criticism of the New Testament* (3/6); Harnack, *What is Christianity?* (3/9); *Acts of the Apostles* (5/-), an example of modern critical method and summary of historical conclusions arrived at by New Testament criticism); A. V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century* (10/6).

XI. THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN EUROPE AND ENGLAND.

he Industrial Revolution and its effects on Working-class Life.
The Freemasons.
The Carbonari.
Young Europe and Young Italy.
The Early Socialists: Saint Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, L. Blanc, in France, Godwin in England.
Robert Owen and the Chartists.
Communism.
Christian Socialism in England.
Karl Marx and the Internationale.
Lassalle and the German Socialist Party.
Bakounin and the Anarchist Parties.
The Formation of National Socialist Parties.
The Growth of Trade Unionism in England.
Revisionism and Syndicalism.

Books recommended: Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution* (2/6); Bolton King, *Life of Mazzini* (4/6); Th. Frost, *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution* (2 vols., 1876); A. Menger (translated, with historical introduction by Professor Foxwell), *The Right to the Whole Produce of Labour* (6/-); Kirkup, *History of Socialism* (5/8); Webb, *History of Trade Unionism* (7/6); Ensor, *Modern Socialism* (second edition, 1907) (5/-); F. W. Hirst, *The Manchester School*; L. T. Hobhouse, *The Labour Movement* (1/-); Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place* (2/6); Podmore, *Life of Robert Owen* (2 vols., 24/-); Rae, *Contemporary Socialism* (5/-); Russell, *German Social Democracy* (3/6); Hunter, *Socialists at Work* (6/6); Articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* on the Chartist leaders, e.g. Owen, Lovett, O'Connor, O'Brien, Jones, Frost. There is a good general account of the European Movement in Seignobos's *History of Contemporary Europe*, ch. 24 (English translation, 10/-), with a bibliography. Jaurès's *Histoire Socialiste*, 1789–1900 (10 vols., 90 francs), is the standard book on the Socialist Movement in France.

GENERAL ENGLISH HISTORY

THE great advantage of a continuous course in English History, from the earliest times to the present day, is that it affords a lesson in the history of civilization and in the gradual processes of nation-building, such as cannot be given by an historical survey limited to a single century.

Again, a course dealing with distant history helps to promote a more scientific and unbiassed consideration of social and political problems than would be possible if the problems dealt with were those of times so recent that teacher and students alike would find it difficult to rid themselves of prejudice. If problems long ago settled are first understood and the historical imagination is enlisted to enable students to sympathize with, or at least understand, the position of both sides in the political conflict of ages past, it will be easier to approach modern problems in a more scientific and unprejudiced spirit.

Nor are these the only advantages of such a course. English History is so wide that its study enables individuals to follow up their own particular interests. Thus one man may be more interested in economic history, another in the history of the constitution, a third in the history of manners, and so on. A course on English History should enable each of these to 'study what he most affects'. Many subjects—such as Political Economy and Political Science—only appeal to those already interested in social questions; but it is unfortunately the fact that, in the country at least, many workers are not particularly interested in these questions. To these last a course on English History would chiefly appeal through its connexion with local history, and because it gave them not only the story of their fathers' deeds, but told them also of the past history of places and buildings with which they were familiar. All through the course it ought to be possible to touch both spheres of interest. Thus, in studying the history of England before the Norman Conquest, it should be possible, on the one hand, to illustrate, from English examples, the general processes by which tribes of savages become a nation—those general processes which have been discussed by such writers as Maine, Bagehot, and Tarde. On the other hand, this period of history might be made more real and interesting to students less accustomed to abstract problems, by descriptions of local antiquities—such as barrows, camps, and Roman 'villas'—and by occasional visits to neighbouring sites of historical interest or to neighbouring museums. Again, in studying the history of the seventeenth century, some would be most interested in the conflict of the rival political theories—the theory of Divine Right and the theory of a Social Contract—while others would find the strategy of the Civil War and its events in familiar places the more attractive part of the subject.

The chief difficulty in devising a course on English History attends the preliminary course which seems advisable. To lead students to study the more advanced problems before they had acquired a sense of chronology and some acquaintance with the skeleton of historical facts and the sequence of the chief episodes, would be undesirable; but on the other hand, this preliminary study is liable to be dry and uninteresting, and the available textbooks are either mere school-books or are out of date. Perhaps it would be best for this preliminary course to be as brief as possible—say six or eight weeks—and for the students to rely mainly on their teacher for giving them this preliminary bird's-eye view. If a textbook is used, perhaps the best would be

*York Powell and Tout: *History of England* (5/8, or in 3 parts, each 1/11),

and this might be supplemented by one or more of the following:—

S. R. Gardiner: *Student's History of England* (a dull and accurate summary) (9/-, or in 3 parts, each 3/-).

J. R. Green: *Short History of the English People* (a brilliant narrative, but, in great part, out of date) (6/5).

Fletcher: *Introductory History of England* (vols. i and ii to 1660, each 3/9; vol. iii, parts i and ii, each 3/9).

Maitland: *Lectures on Constitutional History* (9/5).
*Townsend-Warner: *Landmarks of English Industrial History* (3/9).

After the preliminary studies it would be well to select certain definite periods and problems. The following are suggested for successive consideration:—

1. The Britons and the Romans:
*Hodgkin: *Political History to 1066* (7/6), with (for more advanced study)—
Holmes: *The Invasions of Julius Caesar* (21/-).
*Haverfield: *Romanization of Roman Britain* (o. p.).

*2. The Old English and their Conquest of Britain, with the social and economic changes it involved:
*Hodgkin: (as before), with (for more advanced study)—
Chadwick: *Origin of English Nation* (7/6).
Vinogradoff: *Growth of the Manor* (7/11).
Green: *Making of England* (attractive, but to be used with caution) (2 vols., 8/-).

3. The Coming of Christianity and the Influence of the Church before the Norman Conquest:
*Hunt: *History of the English Church to 1066* (5/8).
Bede: *Ecclesiastical History* (Bohn Library, 3/9).

4. The Danish Invasions and their effect on English Society:
*Hodgkin: (as before), and (for more advanced study)—
Vinogradoff: (as before).
Plummer: *Alfred the Great* (5/-).

5. Anglo-Saxon Laws and Institutions: the Development of English Society:
Medley: *Constitutional History* (10/6), supplemented by—
Chadwick: *Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (8/-), and (for more advanced study)—
Maitland: *Domesday and Beyond* (11/3) and *Township and Borough* (7/6).
Vinogradoff: (as before).

In this section, the class would probably be obliged to rely to some extent on quotations from legal texts made by the lecturer, and might profitably compare the facts thus noted with the generalizations in certain chapters of Maine's *Ancient Law* (1/-, 2/6), with Pollock's notes (5/-), and in Jenks' *History of Politics* (1/-).

*6. The Norman Conquest: Its Characters and Effects:

*Davis: *England under the Normans and Angevins* (10/6), with (for more advanced study)—
Traill: *Social England* (selected chapters) (6 vols., each 14/-).
Ballard: *The Domesday Inquest* (7/6).
Ballard: *Domesday Boroughs* (6/6).
Pollock and Maitland: *History of English Law* (selections from vol. i) (2 vols., £1/11/6).
Vinogradoff: *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (16/-), and, perhaps—
Parker: *Introduction to Gothic Architecture* (3/9) (selected chapters).
Clarke: *Mediaeval Military Architecture* (18/-) (selections).
Bradley: *The Making of English* (3/5).

7. Church and State in the Days of the Normans and Angevins:

*Church: *St. Anselm* (4/-).
Davis: (as before), with (for more advanced study)—
Maitland: *Canon Law in the Church of England* (5/8).

*8. The Governmental System of Henry II:

*Davis: (as before), with
Pollock and Maitland: *History of English Law* (selections) (see above).

*9. Constitutional Developments of the Thirteenth Century: the Growth of Parliament:

*Davis (as before).
Tout: *Political History from 1216 to 1377* (7/6), with—
Maitland: *Lectures on Constitutional History* (9/5).

*10. The Black Death: Social and Economic Changes: the Revolution of 1381:

Townsend-Warner: *Landmarks* (3/9).
Traill: *Social England* (selections) (as above).
Tout: (as before).

Oman: *Political History, 1377 to 1485* (7/6) (selections), with (for more advanced study)—
Cunningham: *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (Early and Middle Ages, 12/6).
Gasquet: *The Black Death* (7/6).
Oman: *The Rebellion of 1381* (8/6).

*11. English Society in the Fourteenth Century: Wyclif and the Lollards:

Trevelyan: *England in the Age of Wyclif* (11/3), with (for more advanced study)—
*Chaucer: *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* (from 1/-; edited by Morris and Skeat, 1/11).
*Langland: *Piers Plowman* (Skeat's edition, 3/5).
Lane-Poole: *Illustrations of Mediaeval Thought* (chapter on Wyclif).

12. English Society and Politics in the Fifteenth Century:

Oman: *Political History* (see above).
Green: *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century* (2 vols., 20/-).
Thorold Rogers: *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (4/-).
Denton: *The Fifteenth Century* (15/-).

*13. The Tudor Monarchy: the Reformation: the Inclosures:

Fisher: *Political History, 1485 to 1547* (7/6).
Pollard: *Henry VIII* (8/6).
——— *Political History, 1547–1603* (7/6) (when published).
Creighton: *Elizabeth* (5/-).
Child: *Church and State under the Tudors* (o. p., only second-hand).
Maitland: *The Reformation Settlement* (chapter in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. ii, ch. 16, 16/-).
Cheyney: *Social Changes in England during the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia).
Unwin: *Industrial Organization* (7/6).

14. The Sixteenth Century: its Discoveries and its Literature:

*Raleigh: *English Voyagers* (4/6).
More: *Utopia* (various editions from 1/-; edited by Lumby, 2/8; edited by Churton Collins, 1/6).
Symonds: *Shakespeare's Predecessors* (5/8).

Dowden: *Shakespeare's Mind and Art* (9/-).
*Courthope: *History of English Poetry* (5 vols., each 10/-).
Froude: *Lectures on the English Seamen* (2/8).

*15. The Puritans:
*Trevelyan: *England under the Stuarts* (10/6).
Gardiner: *Select Documents* (7/11).
Raleigh: *Milton* (4/6).
Macaulay: *Essay on Bunyan* (from 1/-).

*16. The Great Rebellion:
*Trevelyan: (as before).
Gardiner: (as before).
*Firth: *Cromwell* (3/9), with (for more advanced study)—
Gooch: *English Democratic Ideas of the Seventeenth Century* (3/9).
Jenks: *Constitutional Experiments* (1/11).
Pollard: *Factors in English History* (7/6).
Gardiner: *History of England from 1603-56* (18 vols., each 5/-).

*17. The Restoration and the Revolution of 1688:
Firth: Chapter in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv, ch. 19 (16/-).
*Trevelyan: (as before).
*Maitland: (as before), and (for more advanced study)—
Macaulay: *History of England* (3 vols., 3/- and upwards).
Ranke: *History of England* (£3 3*s*.).
Locke: *Treatise on Civil Government* (1/-, &c.).
Filmer: *Patriarcha* (1/-).
Butler: *Hudibras* (Cambridge, 4/6, various other editions).
Dryden: *Poems*, edited by Christie and Firth (2/8), Globe ed. (2/8).
Grant Robertson: *Select Documents* (10/6).

18. The Colonies and the Mercantile System:
*Egerton: *Colonial Policy* (7/6).
Cunningham: *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (see above).
Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations* (2/8, 3/-, 2/-, in World's Classics, &c.).

19. Local Government from the Seventeenth Century onwards:

Redlich and Hirst: *Local Government in England* (2 vols., 21/-; remainder price, about 8/6).
B. and S. Webb: *English Local Government* (3 vols., £2/1/-).

*20. Party Politics and the Growth of Cabinet Government in the Eighteenth Century:

Morley: *Walpole* (1/11).
*Green: *Chatham* (3/9).
Morley: *Burke* (mainly critical) (4/-); *Life of Burke*, also by Morley, (-/9 or 1/2).
*Acton: Essay on *Hanoverian Settlement, Lectures in European History* (10/-).
Anson: *Law and Custom of the Constitution* vol. i, *Parliament*, new ed. (12/6); vol. ii, *The Crown*, part i, 10/6; part ii, 8/6, with (for more advanced study)—
Lecky: *History of England* (7 vols., each 5/-).
Von Ruville: *Chatham* (30/-).
Mahan: *Sea Power, Influence of, upon History* (13/6).
Thomas: *Leading Cases of Constitutional Law* (5/-).

*21. The History of Poor Relief:

*Fowle: *Poor Law* (1/11), with (for more advanced study)—
The Majority Report of the Commission of 1909, Parts iii, iv, v, vi.
Leonard: *History of Poor Relief* (7/6).
Aschrott: *The English Poor Law System* (translated with preface by H. Sidgwick) (10/6).
Cunningham: *English Industry and Commerce*, vi. 6; viii. 6; ix. 12; *Modern Times* (part i, 10/-; part ii, 7/6).
Quarterly Review, No. 106 (1834).
Local Government Board Reports.
Statutes of the Realm.

*22. England and the Revolutionary Spirit.

*Gooch: *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. viii, ch. 25 (16/-).
Paine: *Rights of Man* (from 6*d*.)
Godwin: *Political Justice* (1/11).

*Burke: *Reflections on the French Revolution* (from 6*d.*; edited by Payne, 3/9).

Selections from the poems of Crabbe, Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth and Coleridge (many editions and prices); see pp. 116–17.

The History of England during the nineteenth century has already been dealt with in another syllabus. Yet even with this omission the present syllabus of course suggests far more study than could be crammed into a single or even several seasons, and careful selection would have to be exercised. But it is in no way intended to be binding or restrictive: it is merely designed to show how a course on English History can at once satisfy a variety of interests and at the same time both exhibit important problems in political and legal philosophy and illustrate the gradual progress of the race.

An asterisk has been prefixed to the more important periods or books.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

THE object of this course is to give the student some insight into the problems which lie at the root of many of the controversies of modern politics.

The course consists of (*a*) an obligatory portion calculated at four months' reading at one hour per day, together with (*b*) a number of special topics, any two of which may be taken to complete the year's course. (It is as a rule desirable that one of these should be theoretical and the other concrete and practical in character.)

Apart from the special books suggested, much may be learnt from newspapers and review articles when the student has acquired the habit of sifting what is of permanent from what is of merely passing interest.

COMPULSORY SUBJECTS:—

The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom, including the Colonies and Dependencies—

*Bagehot: *The English Constitution* (2/8).
*Low: *The Governance of England* (3/6).
A. L. Lowell: *The Government of England* (2 vols., 17/-).
Odgers: *Local Government* (2/8).
Maitland: *Justice and Police* (o. p., pub. 2/6).
W. P. Greswell: *The Growth and Administration of the British Colonies*, 1837-97 (1/11).
*Egerton: *The Origin and Growth of the English Colonies and of their system of Government* (an introduction to Lucas's *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*) (1/11).
Courtney: *The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom and its Outgrowths* (1/-).
McKechnie: *The Reform of the House of Lords* (2/6).

OPTIONAL SUBJECTS:—

I. The History and Criticism of Political Ideas, including:
Either (*a*) Political Theory from Hobbes to Bentham.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Original Treatises—

Hobbes: *Leviathan* (1/-, Cambridge ed. 4/6).
Locke: (Second) *Treatise on Civil Government* (1/-).
*Rousseau: *Contrat Social* (Tozer's translation) (1/11).
*Burke: Selections (ed. Payne, 3 vols., 3/9, 3/9, 3/5; Works, *World's Classics*, 6 [illegible] /-).
Paine: *Rights of Man* (from [illegible]
Godwin: *Political Justice* (1/11).
Bentham: *Fragment on Government* (Montagu's edition) (5/8).

The following books are also recommended:—

*Stephen: *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (21/-).
——— *Hobbes* (2/-).
Sidgwick: *Development of European Polity* (10/-).
Morley: *Rousseau* (2 vols., 8/-).
——— *Burke* (*English Men of Letters Series*) (2/-).
Pollock: *History of the Science of Politics* (1/11).
Graham: *English Political Philosophy* (10/6).

Together with some standard history dealing with period of (*a*) English Revolution of 1688, (*b*) French Revolution of 1789.

Or (*b*) Political Theory from Bentham to Green.

Original Treatises—

*Bentham: *Fragment on Government* (Montagu's edition), 5/8.
——— *Theory of Legislation* (Dumont) (2/8).
*Austin: *Jurisprudence* (Jethro Brown) (9/-).
James Mill: *Essay on Government* (ed. 1822; o. p.).
J. S. Mill: *Essay on Liberty* (6*d*., 1/-, &c.).
——— *Representative Government* (1/-, &c.).
Spencer: *Man versus the State* (1/-).
Bagehot: *Physics and Politics* (2/8).
Maine: Selected portions of *Ancient Law* (1/-, 2/6; ed. Pollock, 5/-).
——— Selected portions of *Early History of Institutions* (6/9).
T. H. Green: *Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract* (Works, vol. iii) (15/9).
——— *Principles of Political Obligation* (3/9).

The following books are also recommended :—

J. S. Mill: *Essays on Bentham and Coleridge* (Dissertations and Discussions) (Universal Library, vol. i, 1/-).
——— *Autobiography* (6*d.*, 3/6).
Stephen: *English Utilitarians* (selected chapters) (3 vols., 30/-).
Wallas: *Life of Place* (2/6) (see Recent English History syllabus above).
Huxley: *Methods and Results* (4/-).
Ritchie: *Principles of State Interference* (1/11).
——— *Darwinism and Politics* (1/11).
McCunn: *Six Radical Thinkers* (6/-). (The Thinkers are Bentham, J. S. Mill, Cobden, Mazzini, Carlyle, and T. H. Green.)
Muirhead: *The Service of the State* (3/6).
Dicey: *Law and Public Opinion in England* (10/6).
Pollock and Graham (as above).

(For more special work, Halévy's Studies in the English Utilitarians may be recommended—3 vols. in French).

Or (*c*) Political Ideals and Utopias.

Original Treatises—

*Plato: *Republic* (from 1/-), with Aristotle's criticism in the *Politics* (3/6).
*More: *Utopia* (1/-, 1/6; ed. Churton Collins, 1/6; ed. Lumby, 2/8).
Utopian Socialists (St. Simon, Fourier, Owen, &c.): Kirkup's *History of Socialism* (5/8).
Morris: *News from Nowhere* (1/2).
*Wells: *A Modern Utopia* (5/8).
——— *New Worlds for Old* (4/6).

The following books are also recommended :—

Lewis: *Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics* (1852, 2 vols., 28/-, o. p.).
Nettleship: *Lectures on the Republic of Plato* (8/6).
Barker: *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle* (10/6).
J. S. Mill: *Autobiography* (6*d.*, 3/6), with *Political Economy* (Book II) (2/8).
Ensor: *Modern Socialism* (5/-). (A selection from the writings of leading Socialists.)
Whittaker: *The Liberal State* (2/6).
Hobson: *Ruskin as a Social Reformer* (2/6).

For more advanced study—
Wallace: *Lectures and Essays* (12/6).
Caird: *Social Philosophy of Comte* (5/-).

II. The Function of the State and Theory of Government, including:

Either (*a*) the Principles and Functions of Government, (1) internal, (2) external.

(1) Bentham: *Theory of Legislation* (Dumont) (2/8).
*J. S. Mill: *Political Economy* (Book V) (2/8).
Spencer: *Man versus the State* (1/-).
T. H. Green: *Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract* (Works, vol. iii) (15/9).
Flint: *Socialism* (6/-).
Ritchie: *Principles of State Interference* (1/11).
——— *Studies in Political and Social Ethics* (3/5).
——— *Darwinism and Politics* (1/11).
Sidgwick: *Elements of Politics* (ch. 3–14) (14/-).
——— *Political Economy* (last part) (14/-).
Jevons: *State in Relation to Labour* (1/11).
Hobson: *The Social Problem* (2/6).
*Webb: *Problems of Modern Industry* (5/-), and *Industrial Democracy* (12/-) (selected chapters).
Webb, Mrs.: *Case for the Factory Acts* (1/11).
Woodrow Wilson: *The State* (5/8).

(2) Sidgwick: *Elements of Politics* (ch. 15–18) (see above).
Ritchie: *Studies in Political and Social Ethics* (see above).
Hobhouse: *Democracy and Reaction* (1/-).

For more advanced study—
Green: *Principles of Political Obligation* (3/9).
Bosanquet: *Philosophical Theory of the State* (10/-).

Or (*b*) Problems of Government, including a selection from the following topics:—

(1) Relations between Legislature, Executive and Judiciary—
*Bagehot: *English Constitution* (2/8).
Dicey: *Law of the Constitution* (10/6).
Jenks: *History of Politics* (1/-).

(2) Second Chambers—
Mill: *Representative Government* (1/-, &c.).

Alston: *Modern Constitutions* (2/6).

(3) Relations between Central and Local Government—

Lowell: *Government and Parties in Continental Europe* (2 vols., 15/9).

——— *Government of England* (2 vols., 17/-).

Bryce: *American Commonwealth* (2 vols., each 9/5).

*Ashley: *Local Government in England* (1/-).

Redlich and Hirst: *Local Government in England* (2 vols., 21/-, nearly o. p., present 'remainder price' about 8/6).

(4) Federal (and other composite) States—

Dicey: *Law of the Constitution* (10/6).

Jenks: *History of Politics* (1/-).

Bryce: *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* (2 vols., 25/-).

(5) Control of the People over Government (Referendum, Initiative, &c.)—

Deploige: *Referendum in Switzerland* (5/8).

Lloyd: *The Swiss Democracy* (6/-).

Lowell: *Government and Parties of Continental Europe* (*Switzerland*) (2 vols., 15/9).

Bryce: *American Commonwealth* (2 vols., each 9/5).

(6) The State in Relation to Voluntary Associations (Churches, Industrial Combinations, &c.)—

Gierke: *Political Theories of the Middle Age* (with Maitland's *Preface*) (7/6).

Coleridge: *Church and State* (in collected prose works).

*Webb: *Problems of Modern Industry* (5/-), History of Trade Unionism, &c. (see above).

*Baker (6/6), or Clarke (1/-), or Jenks (5/-), or Macrosty (9/-), on *The State and Monopolies*.

(7) The State in Relation to Trade and Industry.

(8) Public Finance and Administration.

(9) Government of Colonies and Dependencies.

See Recent English History course, p. 120.

III.—The Theory and Practice of Democracy:—

(*a*) *Theory*:—

Rousseau and Burke (see pp. 147-8).

Bentham and Mill (see pp. 147-8).

*Mazzini: *Thoughts on Democracy in Europe* (Works, 6 vols., each 3/5).
W. Whitman: *Democratic Vistas* (1/-, &c.).
Raleigh: *Elementary Politics* (1/-).
Ritchie: *Studies in Political and Social Ethics* (3/5).
McCunn: *Ethics of Citizenship* (2/6).
Addams: *Democracy and Social Ethics* (5/-).

(*b*) *Practice*:—

De Tocqueville: *Democracy in America* (French Text, 3 vols., 15/-; Reeves's Trans., 2 vols., 12/-).
Bryce: *American Commonwealth* (especially Part iv) (2 vols., each 9/5).
Maine: *Popular Government* (5/8).
Lecky: *Democracy and Liberty* (2 vols., 10/-).
Godkin: *Problems of Democracy* (5/8).
——— *Unforeseen Tendencies in Democracy* (6/-).
Webb: *Industrial Democracy* (12/-).
Lowell: *Government and Parties in Continental Europe* (*Switzerland*) (2 vols., 15/9).
Adams and Cunningham: *The Swiss Confederation* (10/6) (cf. sub. II, b. 5).
*Reeves: *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand* (2 vols., 24/-, o. p.).
Ostrogorski: *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (2 vols., 25/-; remainder price, 10/-, nearly o. p.).

IV. Analysis of Political Conceptions, treated Historically and Critically:—

(1) The Law of Nature—

Hobbes, Locke, Burke, Bentham, and Maine.

(2) The Theory of Law and Sovereignty—

Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Austin, Bentham, Maine, and Dicey.

(3) The Theory of Rights ('natural', moral, legal, and political)—

Rousseau, Burke, Paine, Bentham (see pp. 147-8).
Ritchie: *Studies in Social and Political Ethics* (3/5).
——— *Natural Rights* (10/6).
McCunn: *Ethics of Citizenship* (2/6).
Green: *Principles of Political Obligation* (3/9).
Menger: *Right to the whole Produce of Labour* (6/-).

(4) The Idea of Property—

Laveleye: *Primitive Property* (last chapter) (o. p.).
Ritchie: *Darwin and Hegel* (Locke's Theory of Property) (5/8).
Hobhouse: *Morals in Evolution* (2 vols., 21/-).
Wells: *New Worlds for Old* (4/6).

(5) The Idea of Liberty:—

Mill: *Essay on Liberty* (1/-).
FitzJames Stephen: *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity* (10/6).
Seeley: *Lectures on Political Science* (4/-).
Ritchie, McCunn, and Green (as above).
Dickinson: *Justice and Liberty* (4/6.)

General Textbooks:—

*Lewis: *Use and Abuse of Political Terms* (ed. Raleigh) (2/8).
Raleigh: *Elementary Politics* (1/-).

V. Comparative Politics and Institutions:—

Lowell: *Government and Parties in Continental Europe* (2 vols., 15/9).
Bryce: *American Commonwealth* (2 vols., each 9/5).
*Dicey: *Law of the Constitution* (10/6).

VI. Sociological Problems, considered under their political aspects, such as:—

(1) The Nature and Conditions of Social Evolution—

L. T. Hobhouse: *Morals in Evolution* (21/-).
Westermarck: *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (2 vols., each 14/-).

(2) The Problem of War and Arbitration—

The Arbiter in Council (Anonymous) (10/-).
F. E. Smith: *International Law* (1/-).

(3) The Problem of Race (conflict of races, relation between civilized and uncivilized communities), &c.—

Deniker: *The Races of Man* (4/6).
Olivier: *White Capital and Coloured Labour* (1/-, cloth 1/6).
Finot: *Race Prejudice*, English translation, remainder price about 4/6.
Bryce: *Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind* (2/-).

(4) The State and the Family—
Helen Bosanquet: *The Family* (8/6).
(5) The State and the Professions.
(6) The State and Education.
(7) The State and Religion.
(8) The State and Public Health.
See under Recent English History.

VII. Political Psychology:—
E. A. Ross: *Social Psychology* (6/6).
Wallas: *Human Nature in Politics* (4/6).
McDougall: *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (5/-).
Le Bon: *The Crowd* (4/6).

Also recommended:—

Jane Addams: *Democracy and Social Ethics* (5/-); *Newer Ideals of Peace* (5/-).
The chapters on 'Instinct' and 'Habit' in W. James's *Principles of Psychology* (2 vols., 25/-).
Ribot: *Psychology of the Emotions* (translated in *Contemporary Science Series*) (4/6).

APPENDIX VIII

SUGGESTIONS FOR PRELIMINARY STUDY

(Contributed by two members of the Committee.)

IN this section it is desired to assist adult workpeople who have limited time and opportunity for study, but wish to begin to read and think for themselves, and perhaps later to become members of a tutorial class.

The natural course to pursue would be to recommend sound elementary books on such subjects as economics, history, political science, &c., and an attempt is made to do so in the systematic courses given above, where the more useful books are marked with an asterisk. But it is necessary to state two things emphatically at the outset :—

1. There is a very great need for new elementary books on these subjects. There exists a vast mass of textbook literature, which is being added to every month. But, from the point of view of this committee, these books suffer from three defects :—

(*a*) They are generally written for children or young persons rather than for adults.

(*b*) They are generally not written for workpeople, or by persons who are in touch with workpeople.

(*c*) Very few of them deal with the subjects or branches of subjects in which workpeople are more specially interested. Most of the recognized 'school' subjects do not come at present within the purview of the committee.

For these reasons the committee passed a resolution (see p. 87) recommending the preparation of textbooks for working-class students on a number of subjects, and it is to be hoped that the proposed standing committee will take this matter energetically in hand. There is a certain amount of foreign experience to guide it in the work.

2. A second point which must be made clear is that textbooks alone will not be sufficient for beginners in such difficult and complex subjects as political science and economics. In learning mathematics or a branch of natural science, such as geology or botany, a student may make great progress alone with a textbook; but in all studies dealing with human nature textbooks are certain to be inadequate guides. Textbook knowledge should be supplemented by conversation and discussion, and illuminated by the play of general ideas. The free intercourse of mind with mind, which is evoked by the study of such subjects, is one of the chief merits of the tutorial class, and one of the chief deprivations of isolated students and beginners. In order to assist in such discussion, we append a number of brief notes or suggestions on political subjects of current interest, not with the object of dogmatizing, but in order to illustrate the manner in which such subjects can be approached in the light of general ideas, and to suggest questions which may lead on to further study and reflection.

THE STUDY OF POLITICS OR POLITICAL SCIENCE

1. *What kind of study is it?*

By politics is not meant simply 'party' or 'practical' politics, which is concerned with 'programmes' and 'tactics', and how and when to put political ideas into practice, but politics as *contemporary history*.

There is a difference between contemporary history and past history. The former is, *with a view to action*, studied not (as a rule) by pure scholars who love knowledge for its own sake, but by men who regard knowledge as a means to an end.

Still it is a study to be undertaken in the spirit of the scholar, not of the propagandist. Sentiment and emotion are indispensable as the inspiration of political study; but they are harmful and disturbing as its accompaniment. The dispassionate spirit and specialized skill of the scientist is as necessary for thinking out political problems as for solving problems of electricity and engineering.

2. *What is the subject of political study?*

Not a fixed object or group of objects, as in natural science, but a multiform and changing object—Society.

Society is not a mechanism: it is simply the men, women, and children of the community as they act and react on one another: that is, in their social relations.

The political student studies human nature, then, but not individual men and women (like a biographer), nor a group of men and women in their feelings towards one another (like a novelist or dramatist), but men and women in their thoughts about politics and in their outward actions and relations, as 'political animals'.

This is a very difficult study, as 'political human nature is constantly changing. It is impossible to lay down general laws, which are universally true, for a changing subject. The political student aims at discovering, not laws, but *tendencies*, which are true on the whole, but may often be falsified, as, for instance, by unforeseen events such as an earthquake or a bad harvest or an epidemic, or by the peculiarities of national temperament.

3. *What are political students trying to bring about? What is the goal of political study?*

It is best expressed in the watchword of the early Revolutionists—Liberty.

By Liberty is meant—

(i) Economic liberty:—

A man is not free when he is hungry and naked; or when he procures food, shelter, and clothing only by an unhealthy or degrading occupation.

Under modern conditions economic liberty for the many can only be secured through social organization, curtailing some men's licence for other men's liberty.

(ii) Spiritual liberty:—

A man is not free when he cannot think, speak, and write as he will, and act upon his opinions if he so desires.

Spiritual liberty for the many means freedom from authority; but it can only be secured by curtailing some men's licence to act (e.g. criminals or lunatics), or even, in rare cases, to speak and write, for other men's liberty.

The goal of the political student, then, is to remove obstacles to economic and spiritual liberty, and to provide opportunities for men and women and children to develop the good that is in them.

Where liberty begins, politics end.

The goal of political study is not:—

(i) to change human nature;

(ii) to introduce any definite political or social or ethical system;

(iii) to secure liberty to any particular class or

(iv) any particular nation;

though any or all of these *may* turn out, through study, to be necessary steps or consequences.

The following are among some of the general questions arising for discussion out of the above:—

1. Where ought the lines to be drawn between study, action (legislation, &c.), and propaganda? Which is the most valuable?

2. Ought knowledge to be pursued for its own sake, or only with a view to action?

3. Can politicians be both scientific and sentimental?

4. If the politicians who govern us ought to be as skilled in their trade as the engineers who build our bridges, why do we not use the same method for finding out the best man in each case? Why do we not either choose our bridge-builders by a democratic vote or our rulers by a committee of experts?

5. Does not an ignorant fanatic achieve more in politics than a skilled political thinker? Is not the use of the intellect in politics enervating?

6. Have politics any concern with private conduct and domestic life?

7. Have politics anything to teach us about a general law of human progress?

8. Is self-governing democracy a necessary part of all successful social organization ?

9. What right has the State to inflict punishment or otherwise to limit a man's freedom ?

10. Can a wage-earner be considered economically free ? Define economic liberty.

11. How can spiritual liberty be reconciled with any fixed system of religion or morality ?

GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY

An impartial visitor from another planet, reflecting on our problems of government, would make three observations :—

(i) That our world is, and has always been, very badly governed. We are only just beginning to recognize how much a wise government can achieve.

(ii) That most men submit readily to authority unless very unwisely exercised. This can be observed by watching the government of any small community or group of men : as a club, a cricket eleven out fielding, a District or Parish Council. To carry on government (though not therefore to govern wisely) is not a very difficult art. It can be done with much less technical skill and training than engineering or medicine.

(iii) That the *natural* way of managing government is to put the best man or group of men in command.

The modern idea of government seems the direct contrary of this last. Practically all civilized nations are under a democratic system of government : that is, they are ostensibly governed not by the few, but by the many : not by the *knowledge* of the few, but by the *opinions* of the many.

How is this difference to be explained ?

Some light may be thrown upon it by tracing the history of *the idea of democracy*.

The idea of democracy took its origin among the ancient Greeks, who were the first people to discuss questions of government, and amongst whom government by the people, instead of being, as it is with us, a very artificial system, seemed the only natural one. This was due to several causes:—

1. The climate, which caused them to spend most of their time in the open air. While 'the Englishman's home is his castle', the Greek was the real 'man in the street'. Public life took up as much of his time as private indoor life does of ours.

2. The low scale of production, coupled with the employment of slaves, gave the citizens far less to do in the economic sphere. Hence they had leisure to devote to government.

3. Governmental problems were so simple compared with ours that the need for experts was not felt. Mistakes of policy could be corrected without heavy penalties; for instance, as credit was not sufficiently developed to enable states to raise war loans, an unwise war came to an end when the money in the Treasury was exhausted.

Hence the Greeks, living together in small cities as a body of friends and equals, where most men knew one another by sight, evolved the idea of democracy.

This idea is really twofold, but its two aspects are generally confused:—

(i) Fellowship democracy: democracy meaning a sense of brotherhood and equality diffused through the community, as through a harmonious school or club or village. This has not anything to do with government. A band of anarchists who disapproved of all government might still be democratic in this sense.

(ii) Self-governing democracy: democracy meaning that every member of the community has a share in its government. This does not (as a rule) exist in schools, but would be represented by the general meeting of any club or Trade Union.

After the decay of ancient Greek civilization the double idea of democracy slumbered for many centuries, at least in the political sphere. When it was revived in the North of Europe it had to adapt itself to altered conditions, such as—

(i) A 'stay-at-home' climate, with public business conducted, under uncomfortable conditions, indoors.

(ii) Large nations, instead of small cities, as the units of national government, and increased complexity of problems of government.

Hence with us democracy is an artificial system, and requires justification.

Several theories have been invented to justify it.

(i) That every man is born into the world with a *right* to take part in the government of his country.

But this school have to admit that a man may forfeit this right. If so, who is to decide? What right has any one, or any majority, to take away a man's human birthright? This theory now finds few logical upholders.

(ii) That, though there is no natural right, it is *expedient* that every man should have a part in government.

This theory has been defended on two opposite grounds:

(*a*) 'Individualistic': men, it is said, always act from selfish motives; therefore if each is set free to pursue what is best for himself, the result will be to secure what is best for all.

Note that on this selfish theory of human nature fellowship democracy is impossible.

In accordance with this theory the franchise was extended and many grievances redressed. But it is not a true theory, for experience has shown that most men do not act in politics as individuals but in groups, whether actuated by selfish or unselfish motives.

(*b*) 'Socialistic': this school of thought claims that the responsibility of sharing in government creates fellowship democracy and so simplifies the problems of government. Government has failed in the past owing to the selfishness of the governors and the acquiescence of the governed: self-governing democracy will create unselfishness and public spirit.

But the Socialistic theory of democracy has also proved not wholly true. Why?

1. Experience shows that a self-governing democracy has peculiar temptations to selfishness: e.g.

(*a*) through the struggle of class against class;

(*b*) through the responsibility unexpectedly thrust upon

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the democracies of Western Europe of governing large and wealthy oversea dependencies.

2. Because even if unselfish, modern democracies are often unable to act rightly owing to

(*a*) The difficulty of securing accurate information, accentuated by an untrustworthy Press. (In the Greek democracies information was given by word of mouth.)

(*b*) Lack of time. The modern citizen has mostly only a few moments in a crowded day for his citizenship.

3. Modern self-governing democracy works entirely through representatives. But a real representative system, by which one man becomes the mouthpiece of some hundreds or thousands of others, is, humanly speaking, impossible: and would be undesirable, if it were possible. The modern representative is not a reflection of his constituents but a man with certain qualifications, of which the chief are:—

(*a*) Leisure (unless he is paid for his services).

(*b*) The qualities of a 'good candidate' (which are not necessarily those of a good governor).

Hence, though the trend of events seems to be setting in favour of fellowship democracy, self-governing democracy seems, at the present moment, to be losing ground.

For instance:

the Cabinet is gaining at the expense of the House of Commons:

the permanent Civil Servant at the expense of his temporary chief:

the municipal official at the expense of the local representative:

the Trades Union Secretary at the expense of the General Meeting.

In other words, self-governing democracy may be unnecessary if we can secure without it a government that is (1) unselfish, (2) wise and well-informed.

Can we? Probably not, for government, in order to be unselfish and well-informed, must be in touch with those whom it governs: unelected governors may have all the other scientific knowledge necessary to good legislation and administration but will lack knowledge of the people.

For the *management of things* expert knowledge alone is necessary: but for *the government of men* some machinery for securing their consent and co-operation appears to be indispensable.

Hence there is a real necessity for a directly elected element in government, and for a division of labour between the representatives of the two kinds of knowledge.

The government of the future seems likely to be a calculated combination of scientific efficiency with popular control.

This control could be exercised in numerous ways, amongst others by

(i) *Criticism*: not only in Parliament but in the Press and at public meetings.

(ii) *Publicity*: the acts of the executive and its reasons for action should be laid before the public.

(iii) *Consultation*: by the principle of co-option citizens representative of important groups and organizations can be chosen to serve on public bodies. (This assumes a condition of fellowship democracy.)

(iv) By the constant pressure of a majority of elected representatives upon their administrative chiefs by their power of passing a vote of no confidence.

The above theoretical sketch is not put forward as an explanation of the *causes* of the development of democratic government. These must be sought through study of the political and economic conditions of ancient and modern societies. But ideas and theories are always in intimate relation with these conditions and are a useful guide towards their understanding.

The following are among some of the general questions arising for discussion out of the above:—

1. How can men best be trained to become governors?
2. What are the qualities of a good leader?
3. Is climate the most important cause in determining social habits?

4. Is a slave-system a necessity to secure a high standard of culture and civilization among the free ?

5. Is a nation or city justified in raising a loan at the expense of posterity ?

6. Is fellowship democracy possible under modern conditions of specialization ?

7. Is it true to call the Middle Ages a really democratic age ? Is the Catholic Church a democratic institution ?

8. Has a man any natural rights ?

9. Do men act from purely self-regarding motives ?

10. How would the various modern theories of democracy apply to women ?

11. What attitude ought a modern democracy to take up as to the government of its dependencies ?

12. Should members of Parliament regard themselves as delegates or hold themselves free to act independently ?

13. What are the differences between a 'good candidate' and a good member ?

14. Do permanent officials generally enjoy the confidence of those whose affairs they administer ?

15. On what system should permanent officials be selected for their posts ?

16. How can a governor best keep in touch with the people he governs ?

17. What are the limits of publicity and secrecy in government deliberations ?

18. Is co-option of representatives of voluntary organizations a democratic principle ?

19. Are *ad hoc* bodies better than mixed committees ?

WAR.

War is generally regarded as a blot on modern civilization. It is in contradiction with civilized man's best instincts. (Hence all armies go out with doctors and nurses who tend the wounded of either side.)

If so, can war be abolished ?

Three questions arise :

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1. *Why do we condemn war?*

(*a*) Because of the suffering it involves, both among combatants and non-combatants.

(*b*) Because of the brutality it involves, by causing men to kill one another.

(*c*) Because of the destruction of wealth it involves and consequent effects on trade and employment and national prosperity.

2. *Is modern warfare different in these three respects from the warfare of earlier ages?*

Yes. Warfare is now a science; it used to be a sport. Next to hunting, it is the oldest form of sport. Hence:—

(*a*) In early warfare fewer men were killed; it is very hard to kill a man in armour. A battle was often like a football scrimmage, followed by a pursuit. Men could be killed in the pursuit, but armies generally preferred looting the camp to killing the fugitives.

(*b*) Fighting was an excitement, entered upon in hot blood. There was very little scientific and calculated killing. Modern fighting is best done in cold blood.

(*c*) War was a means of increasing wealth: prisoners were used as slaves or, among cannibals, as food: treasure was carried off. A modern nation which goes to war for profit calculates to make its profit not *in* the war but *after* the war.

Hence modern scientific warfare is a new phenomenon, at once more destructive and more intellectual than fighting in the days before fire-arms were introduced.

3. *What purposes does modern warfare serve?*

Two purposes:—

(i) As a means of gain.

(ii) As an ultimate way of settling national differences.

Taking (i) first, war may be undertaken as a means of gain either by ruling individuals or by democratic States.

(*a*) By individuals:

Powerful individuals or groups of individuals (kings or ministers from ambition or for popularity, financiers, contractors and others for commercial motives) may drive an undemocratically governed nation into war. Most European wars in the eighteenth century were due to personal or dynastic considerations. But this policy received a check when the peoples of Western Europe rose against Napoleon, and should gradually pass away with the increase in the power and knowledge of democracies.

(*b*) By States:

Modern nations may go to war to win:

(i) Territory:

But one democratic nation cannot annex and govern another democratic nation for long against its will. For instance, Sweden could not annex and hold Norway (and so avoided a war in 1905 in spite of great provocation), nor Germany France (and so was content with an indemnity in 1871), nor Turkey Bulgaria. The stronger the national spirit of a people the less worth while it is to annex it. Hence wars for territory may be expected to cease when, as in many parts of Europe at present, the frontiers between States correspond to real differences of civilization and national life.

(ii) Modern nations may go to war for commercial gain:

(*a*) To secure markets for their manufactured goods: in old days' nations occupied new territory to fetch treasure home; modern nations often do so to bring their own treasures and find buyers for them. They occupy a country containing uncivilized people with many needs, and induce them (generally in return for their labour) to satisfy these out of home manufactures. This benefits sections of the nation, for it enriches the home manufacturers and increases home production.

But this process is not likely to continue indefinitely, for

(1) There are very few such 'virgin markets' left, and even these cannot be occupied without international complications.

(2) It is not the best way of increasing home production and employment. It might be, if there were no people at home with similar needs; but in that case there would be no desire to increase production.

(*b*) Nations may go to war to exploit the undeveloped resources of new countries. For instance, a manufacturing country may be driven to use political means to secure its food and raw material, and this may lead to war. But a powerful manufacturing country is likely to secure this more safely by negotiation than by war.

War as an ultimate way of settling national differences :

It will always remain the 'ultimate' way, as duelling and horsewhipping remain between individuals. But civilized nations are less and less likely to resort to it, and have developed checks to ensure this.

Such checks are :—

(*a*) *Arbitration.*

The principle of arbitration is that a nation is as unfit as an individual to be judge in its own case. When this is recognized by the establishment of a permanent international court for settling international questions many difficulties will be regularly settled without hostilities (as civil cases between individuals), and a body of international law, with precedents, will gradually grow up. The decisions of such a court may never be binding on nations; but few nations would care to dispute them. Moreover they will give time for reflection, and so prevent hasty action.

(*b*) *The increase of international communication and mutual understanding.*

The cheapening of travel, the rise in wages, and the improvement of education may gradually make it uncommon for English people not to have been outside England and to speak no language but their own. Every excursion train to Paris or the Rhine is an additional safeguard against a war with France or Germany. International marriages will probably always be rare: but international friendships need not be so.

(*c*) *International movements.* These are

(i) *Specifically peace or anti-militarist :*

Such a movement, if international, may turn the scale against war at a critical moment.

(ii) *Political :* e.g. the Liberal and Nationalist movement in the nineteenth century and the Socialist movement to-day. A working-class international movement is a particular security against war, because

(*a*) the interests of the worker are always in favour of peace. Like most employers, he is sure of an immediate loss; but his ultimate gain is even more problematical.

(*b*) The common soldiers are drawn from the working class; and governments may hesitate to risk a war against the feelings of the class from which their fighters are drawn.

(iii) *Scientific or learned:*

Learning and science are international and internationally organized. This is drawing together an international body of enlightened opinion which could make itself heard in time of crisis. Few modern states would care to enter upon a war with all the 'intellectuals' opposed to them.

But in spite of these tendencies and checks two causes of war remain:—

(i) Ultimate incompatibilities of temper between nations (religious, racial, or temperamental) which may induce nations to go to war against their own interest.

(ii) Unfixed frontiers between nations and, especially, between widely distinct races.

A powerful nation wishes to spread its civilization and influence as widely as possible: and it can do so till it is checked by an opposing civilization. Fluctuating frontiers generally mean sparsely populated or undeveloped countries, and the struggle for the tutelage of them is a struggle between civilizations. Many nations think (and may continue to think) war in such a cause justifiable. The best safeguard is to make it unprofitable.

The following are some of the general questions arising for discussion out of the above:—

1. What is the difference between war and murder?
2. Is it true to say that women are no use in war?
3. What effects does war have on the character of those engaged in fighting?

4. Is it right to condemn an institution because it causes pain?

5. Is the destruction of property good or bad for trade?

6. Is a sport to be condemned as exercising a bad influence because it involves danger to life?

7. What interests in a civilized community stand to benefit peculiarly by the outbreak of war?

8. Are fresh markets necessary to national prosperity?

9. What uncivilized parts of the world are not yet under the tutelage of a civilized power?

10. Ought manufacturing nations to aim at possessing the sources of their food-supply and raw material?

11. Is it true to say that physical force is the 'ultimate basis' of society?

12. Ought nations to submit questions affecting the national honour to arbitration?

13. Are international marriages desirable?

14. Are the attacks of the anti-militarists on patriotic sentiment justifiable? If not, ought they to be repressed by law?

15. Can an international political movement be effectively organized?

16. Is a universal secondary language, such as Esperanto, likely to be generally adopted for international intercourse? Is there any other way of remedying the difficulty of international intercourse?

17. Is it justifiable for a nation to go to war, against its own material interests, to extend its civilization?

18. What are the most important debateable frontiers still left between races and nations?

19. Which are the most important factors in bringing about mutual incompatibilities of temper between nations: differences of race, of religion, or of civilization and standards of life?

THE ORGANIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE.

Knowledge in the modern world has to contend against two enemies:—

(i) Opinion: 'the wish is father to the thought': most men are indolent enough to prefer believing to knowing, and this natural tendency has been strengthened by the democratic system by which the *opinions* of the voter decide the destinies of the country.

Opinion is very often, though not always, dictated by sentiment.

(ii) Interest: men who possess or control knowledge may find it profitable to conceal or distort it.

The problem of the organization of knowledge is that of dissociating it from opinion and private interest. There is vastly more knowledge available in the world to-day than in any previous age. (*The Encyclopaedia Britannica* contains a hundredfold more knowledge than similar compilations by ancient Greeks or Romans.)

This knowledge is sought:—

(i) For its own sake, and to find out new knowledge.

This use is made of it by research students at Universities and Academies, and only indirectly affects society.

(ii) For action.

Owing to the complication of modern life more knowledge is needed for action than ever before, both in private and in public life.

For instance in private life, men need to know enough to use the facilities provided for them, trains, telegraphs, bicycles, maps, books. A journey from point to point in London would baffle a Julius Caesar come to life again.

In public life, statesmen need exact knowledge (statistics, &c.) of a sort unknown to previous ages.

Modern life is based on a foundation of knowledge, most of it stored up in books, which is a common inheritance, and those who do not possess it are cut off from the common atmosphere of their time.

How is this knowledge to be passed on from old to young —from one generation to the next?

This question forms the subject of many 'educational theories'.

(i) The simplest way is by compulsion and drudgery. Thus boys are sometimes taught swimming by being thrown into the water, and a new language by being made to learn the rules of its grammar by heart.

This is not teaching at all. When the boy learns it is because he teaches himself.

(ii) As a reaction from this arose the *laissez-faire* theory, that a child should be allowed to develop in his own way by the natural growth of his faculties. This theory believes in teaching by guidance and example, but not by compulsion.

But it ignores the artificial character of modern knowledge. No child can 'discover' how to read and write (as he might discover how to play ball or row) by the 'natural growth of his faculties'. It may be true that children in growing up go through all the early stages of our race, but these stages can be hastened.

Hence the *laissez-faire* theory of education has been gradually abandoned and superseded by the idea of State-controlled education.

(iii) *State-controlled education*, which was first systematized in Prussia in 1817, expresses two ideas:—

(*a*) That knowledge should be universally diffused, and hence compulsorily imparted.

Till the nineteenth century hardly any one could read or write: book-learning was for the few. The people got their knowledge by word of mouth or through works of art (e.g. Italian art familiarized people who could not read the Bible with the Bible stories). Hence the greater national importance of art in previous ages.

(*b*) That knowledge should be impartial: i.e. given with no ulterior private motive: neither imparted in schools run for private profit nor given for non-educational (i.e. professional or propagandist) purposes.

In previous ages knowledge was generally given to those who could pay for it, and its vendors had to suit the taste of their customers: or it was given to priests or lawyers or soldiers or doctors for professional purposes. The only State-Education among the ancient Greeks was military in character. Hence restrictions were put upon knowledge which was regarded as unsuitable or dangerous, and even the

Universities have been slow to abolish tests of orthodox opinion.

The theory of State-controlled education regards knowledge as a public possession (like air or sunshine), and its effective bestowal as a public concern.

The English State-controlled system of education may be regarded as defective and unsatisfactory, for four main reasons :—

1. It was created and is still too largely used for one class only, and that the poorest class, which was unable to provide for its own education. Just as the public workhouse was founded as the paupers' workshop, so the public school house was founded as a school for the poor man's child. But if knowledge is a public concern, the State should not confine its attention to controlling the education of one class only. A national system of education concerns all classes.

2. It is imparted too exclusively through books. Books are store-houses of knowledge, but they are necessarily out of touch with life. Hence a system of education working (as it must) through books is open to the temptation to impart dead facts rather than knowledge of living interest. This can be corrected by drawing teachers and students of different conditions and classes together and promoting sympathy between them. A school should not be regarded as a barracks or a prison, but as a meeting-place of friends with common interests in study.

3. It is too short; systematic education should, if possible, take each student as far as he can get. Some will be taken further than others; but the present leaving age would certainly, under an improved system, be regarded as too low.

4. It is too cheap.

The imparting of knowledge is a skilled trade which requires expensive tools and good remuneration. The early traditions of our system have made men slow to recognize this.

State-controlled education does not necessarily mean State-managed or even State-supported education. It means that the State can inspect and report on every school; but, above all, it should cause every teacher to feel that (by whomsoever he is employed) he is doing public work for the nation.

Educational institutions with endowments which do not require State support may be valuable through their traditions of learning and discussion and their freedom to make experiments. Professional schools are of course necessary, in addition to purely educational schools, in order to train men to earn their livelihood in some specialized occupation.

But the education of the young is only part of the wider question of *organizing the production and distribution of knowledge.*

The men who produce knowledge are the men with ideas: poets, artists, scientists, inventors, scholars. Under modern conditions it is difficult for a man to earn his livelihood by producing knowledge. Men are no longer burned or imprisoned for new ideas; but they are sometimes starved, and more often discouraged.

New ideas need *organization* and *endowment*; for instance, there is particular need for endowment of research in departments like medicine, where it may be possible to extirpate many diseases.

The distribution of knowledge opens up wide questions, for practically every brain-worker is a knowledge-carrier: architect, journalist, clergyman, Civil Servant, lawyer, actor, publisher, advertiser.

Many ways could be conceived in which the idea of knowledge as a public possession could be applied to these professions.

E. g. by State publishing of valuable books, maps, music, &c., by publicly managed theatres or operas, by public control of town-planning and building, public hoardings for accurate news instead of private advertisements, &c., &c.

All plans for the organization of knowledge presuppose a population physically fit to profit by it. This raises wider questions, connected with the problem of poverty, which are beyond the scope of this section.

SUGGESTIONS FOR PRELIMINARY STUDY

The following are some of the general questions arising for discussion out of the above:—

1. What is the difference between knowledge and opinion? Are there any regions of thought where there is no difference?

2. In what main directions are we wiser than the ancient Greeks and Romans?

3. Has the increase of knowledge altered human nature or the human intellect?

4. Is it a true educational maxim that 'example is better than precept'?

5. To what extent should children be allowed to form their own habits?

6. What is the educational value of art?

7. Is it bad that some schools should be run for private profit?

8. Should the elementary school be made the school of all classes?

9. Is it true that 'a good book is a better companion than a good friend'?

10. How long ought children who will have to earn their living as wage-earners to remain at school?

11. If education is run too cheaply where ought the extra money to come from?

12. Ought the State to manage education from the elementary school to the University?

13. What policy should the State adopt towards old educational endowments?

14. Compare the advantages of public and private patronage of new ideas.

15. Is competition the best stimulus for new ideas?

16. Is there any Trades Unionism among 'professional men' (brain-workers)? Is competition in this sphere in any way restricted?

17. How can the State organization of impartial knowledge be reconciled with party government? Would not the party in power inculcate its own opinions?

A. E. ZIMMERN.
J. M. MACTAVISH.

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